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Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK denotes ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

DEC

- 19* Vietminh attack on French installations at Haiphong begins 7½ year war. 1946. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 20* Grigory Rasputin murdered; Czarist court and army circles begin plotting removal of Nicholas II, foreshadowing February Revolution. 1916. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 20* Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution (CHEKA) established in USSR, forerunner of GPU, OGPU, NKVD, MGB, and KGB. 1917.
- 21* Joseph V. Stalin born. 1879.
- 26* Mao Tse-tung born. 1893.

Late December or early January Congress of International Union of Students (IUS, Communist front). Warsaw or Mongolia. [NOTE: Possibly to hinder covert action measures by opponents, IUS has adopted policy of not announcing dates of meetings more than one month ahead.]

JAN

- 2* Fidel Castro assumes power following Batista's flight. 1959.
- 8* Charles de Gaulle inaugurated first president of French Fifth Republic. 1959.
- 15 Conference of Solidarity with Workers of Aden, sponsored by ICATU/WFTU, 15-18 January. Approximately 20 countries participating.
- 21* V.I. Lenin dies. 1924.
- 23-30* In Stalin's purge trials, Karl Radek, Grigory Sokolnikov, two other Old Bolsheviks imprisoned; 13 others condemned to death. 1937. THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 26* Republic of India proclaimed. 1950.
- 28* Birthday of Jose Marti, leader of Cuban independence struggle. 1853.
- 30* Adolf Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany. 1933.
- 31* German Army at Stalingrad surrenders, World War II. 1943.

FEB.

- February: 3rd Afro-Asian Writers' Conference at Beirut. (The 3rd Afro-Asian Writers' Conference was scheduled for Peking. The Beirut conference will be a meeting of Soviet-line followers of the split Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau.)
- 1* UN General Assembly adopts resolution charging Chinese Communist aggression in Korea. 1951.
- 7-12* World War II: Yalta Conference (Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin). 1945.
- 13* Katanga Government announces "massacre" of Patrice Lumumba on 12 February. 1961.
- 13-25* Czechoslovakia, last East European nation governed by traditional parliamentary methods, falls to Communist coup. 25 February, Klement Gottwald becomes Prime Minister. 1948.

Briefly Noted

7 November 1966

*Date and
Site Still
In Question*

Russell Mock Trial
Preparations Con-
tinue.

Pages 8-15 in PRESS COMMENT, 24 October, carry an article from the 24 October issue of THE NEW LEADER by the philosopher Sidney Hook, who helped organize the Dewey Commission which examined the Stalin purge trials in the 1930's. Hook says Russell's appeal is distinguished by "the simplism of its thought and the virulence of its language, matching the crudest Communist propaganda leaflets."

Also included in the same issue of PRESS COMMENT are two articles from the 15 October LE MONDE, Paris, headlined "Two judgments on the U. S. action in Vietnam." One, by former member of the League of Nations Secretariat Florian de la Horbe, expresses "Thanks to the American Soldier" in its headline; the other, by Bertrand Russell, outlines further preparations for the "tribunal," whose panel of participants now allegedly includes the French Trotskyite mathematician Laurent Schwartz in addition to the other names identified in the unclassified attachment to BPG item #1053. (Russell's new list of panelists does not include Francois Mauriac, who had been cited in a Radio Moscow broadcast and at a 7 June press conference in London by Ralph Schoenman.)

The basic guidance given in BPG item #1053 still stands, and has been amplified in Joint State-USIA Info-guide No. 67-6 sent as Airgram to all

diplomatic missions on 15 September: "Under no circumstances do we want to give this scheme publicity, or to dignify it with official U.S. cognizance or reaction.... When or if Russell's 'tribunal' materializes, we want others to apply to it the local equivalent of the label 'Russell's Folly.'"

In addition to the above PRESS COMMENT items, the following material is presented for background use:

1. On 22 October the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation issued a communique which said the "tribunal" would meet privately in London 13-16 November to draw up plans and that the open sessions would be held in Paris next March. Several sources have called it unlikely that the French Government will allow it to be held in Paris. Alternate sites in Stockholm or Helsinki have been mentioned, but difficulties appear also involved there.

2. Communist propaganda support for the "tribunal" has not increased - with two notable exceptions. An article in the 25 September BRATISLAVA PRAVDA reports that Czech writer Ladislav Mnacko, who is in North Vietnam gathering material for a book, has offered to testify at the "tribunal" and that Russell has asked him to appear in Paris toward the end of January or the beginning of February. The Budapest press on 15 October carries a HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY report of Russell's LE MONDE article which, in an apparent effort to excuse Viet Cong

and North Vietnamese terrorism, says it is "inconceivable" that the "tribunal" should equate acts of force committed by the presumed aggressor in the course of his aggression with those committed by the "victims" in their "resistance" against that aggression.

3. Volume One of a "Black Book" entitled "The Biggest War Criminals in Our Era," originally issued in July in Hanoi and Moscow by the Committee to Denounce the War Crimes of the Henchmen of the U.S. Imperialists and Their Henchmen in South Vietnam, has been republished by the North Vietnamese Consulate General in India as well as by other Communist sources such as the WFDY and the WPC. A "Publisher's Note" says it is "also being sent to the International Tribunal being set up by famous British Philosopher Earl Bertrand Russell for trying Johnson, McNamara, Rusk, etc., as war criminals and it will form one of the prosecution documents."

4. A MIDDLE EAST NEWS AGENCY (Egypt) dispatch on 14 October reported that three lawyers from Italy, France, and Germany had agreed to bring charges at the "tribunal" against the Shah of Iran as a "war criminal" helping the United States in Vietnam.

5. Radio Addis Ababa on 23 September quoted a spokesman of the Ethiopian Ministry of Information for the statement that Emperor Haile Selassie had never consented to have his name used as one of the sponsors for the "tribunal."

Attached is an unclassified newsletter from Freedom House, a private organization in New York, containing a reply to Russell's appeal by Prof. Massimo Salvadori, which can be used as background.

*Great Leap
Backwards!*

Pro-Peking Swiss CP
Embarks On Its Own
"Cultural Revolution"

Attached is an unclassified translation of an article from the SWISS PRESS REVIEW AND NEWS REPORT which satirizes the abject breast-beating in the journal of the "Marxist-Leninist" Communist Party of Switzerland. It can be used by selected assets to show how effectively the Chicoms have been able to tighten the reins on one of their West European adherents which had been giving recent signs of adopting the Rumanian path midway between Peking and Moscow. (See Propagandists Guide #3)

For audiences in Europe the charge by the Swiss CP that certain "fraternal parties" receive their directives from Moscow and "encouragement from the capitalists, from the Vatican, and from other bandits' lairs" can be cited as a good example of the ridiculous lengths to which the Communists are going to accuse others when obviously guilty themselves of following foreign directives. The earlier Swiss CP criticism of "luxurious Chinese embassies in Europe" can also be used against targets where local Communists live in substandard conditions.

* * *

*Semantics
of Soviet
Propaganda*

The Red Guards -- Or
Are they?

An item in the Chronology of World Communist Affairs in this BPG calls attention to the difficulty the Soviets have had with the title of Mao's youth organization, the "Red Guards." In Russia, as generally in Europe, the "guards" have traditionally been elite military units, often responsible for guarding the lives of potentates, major public buildings, etc. (E.g., the Grenadier Guards, the Garde Republicaine, the one-time Prussian

Garderegimenter and so on.) The Tsars had their Guards, and the Bolsheviks adopted the term "guard" in this honorific sense, calling their detachments of armed workers the "Red Guard." During World War II, the title of "Guard" was revived in the Red Army for units which had particularly distinguished themselves in battle. Thus "Guards" or "Red Guards" are supposed to be terms of praise to Soviet citizens, who have been indoctrinated on the glorious deeds associated with these names. The present Chinese Red Guards, however, are portrayed in Soviet media as groups of unruly delinquents. To avoid applying the term of honor to these rowdies, the Soviets tried using the name "Okhranniki," a word which means guards in the sense of watchmen, and which recalls the agents of the Czarist secret police who went by that name. But this label is not too apt either. As the Chronology notes, Soviet propagandists have finally adopted a Russianized pronunciation of the Chinese name "hung wei ping": to transliterate from the Soviet spelling, "Khunveibini."

We need not share the Soviet concern about protecting the glory of the name "Red Guard"; indeed, we can ridicule it. But to audiences for whom the title of "guard" retains elite connotations, our output should avoid using such terms as "Guardsmen" for the Chinese teenage "rebels."

* * *

*Russian Writer
Advises Sov
Journalists*

Ilya Ehrenburg
Criticizes Soviet
Press

In a wide-ranging interview published in the October issue of SOVETSKAYA PECHAT (Soviet Press), Ilya Ehrenburg, well-known Soviet journalist and au-

thor, sharply criticized the Soviet press. Ehrenburg revealed that he spends an average of half an hour daily reading the Parisian daily, LE MONDE, and commented that he seldom spends as much time reading any Soviet newspaper. He cautioned against copying the Western press, but was of the opinion that it might be useful to learn a few lessons from it. He complained that Soviet newspapers do not cover many of the more interesting aspects of Soviet life, and blamed this on a lack of interest on the part of many Soviet journalists, and on the fact that too few demands are made on them to write concise, accurate, and above all, -- interesting articles. He also criticized the training of Soviet journalists offered at Moscow University as not sufficiently stressing creative writing, and not giving the students enough practice in the everyday, practical side of journalism. Ehrenburg noted that too often Soviet correspondents report inaccurately from foreign countries, overemphasizing the gloomier aspects of life in the non-Communist countries, but not conveying a meaningful picture of political trends, the "class struggle," and important cultural developments. Ehrenburg, who studied journalism in France, was Paris correspondent for IZVESTIYA in the 1930's and covered the Spanish Civil War for that paper, did not mention the deeper causes of his current observations, i.e., the (press) controls imposed by Communist regimes and the intimidations, distorted views, and "playing-it-safe" mentality which they have produced, nor did he refer to his own contributions in past years to the state of affairs with which he now takes issue.

* * *

*Money Taken
From Smugglers*

Seized Communist
Funds Given to
Victims of Terrorism

On 10 April 1965 the Venezuelan Minister of Interior Gonzalo Barrios announced the capture of three Communist couriers who had been caught at the Caracas airport with a total of \$330,000 which they were carrying from Italy to the Communist guerrillas in Venezuela. The ringleader of the group was Dr. Alessandro Beltramini, a prominent Italian Communist. (The Beltramini Affair was discussed in BPG #165 item 901 of 10 May 1965.)

In disclosing this affair Gonzalo Barrios stated that the captured funds would be used to aid the families of persons have been victims of Communist terrorism in Venezuela. On 9 September 1966 EL NACIONAL of Caracas carried an article announcing that the money taken from Beltramini and his cohorts has been distributed to some 218 persons in the form of housing, pensions, and grants. A copy of the article is included as an unclassified attachment. It provides a convenient peg for recalling the Beltramini affair and for equating Communism with terrorism, pointing out the poetic justice of Communist funds being used to help rather than destroy people.

* * *

*Drawing the
line on Adoption of
Western Ways*

Soviets Out to Nip
Dissent in the Bud

The Soviets apparently have studied student and youth dissent in other countries and have decided to take firm measures to keep their

own youth from stepping out of line. The "unorthodox" role (to say the least) of the Red Guards in China against the official party and Youth League undoubtedly also spurred these measures. The measures taken are in the form of a decree dated 16 September 1966 and published in the organ of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, by which 3 new crimes have been added to the RSFSR Criminal Code. The crimes are:

a) Spreading deliberately false fabrications harmful to the Soviet state and social order, made punishable by up to three years imprisonment;

b) Defacing the national emblem or flag, punishable by up to two years imprisonment;

c) The organization or participation in group actions which violate the public order, punishable by up to three years imprisonment.

Each one of the actions described in the decree typifies acts which have been committed by youths in free world countries. Soviet propaganda has given abundant coverage of such acts in the U.S., as being typical of American attitudes towards the Vietnam War. The Soviets have of course made no effort to balance the picture by pointing out that the large majority of American youth support the current U.S. policies in Vietnam. Nor do the Soviets assess these acts of dissent as reflecting the great strength of a free society. We do not draw attention to such already highly-publicized acts in the U.S. Our main concern is to treat this new decree by raising rhetorical questions about the incidence of such crimes in the USSR....

For example: Does the publication of this decree mean that the Soviets are having difficulty with large numbers of youth committing the new crimes? or, Does this mean that the Soviets expect a rash of such crimes to be committed?

We may view the new decrees in the context of steps taken at the end of July, 1966 to curb "hooliganism," or flagrant violations of the peace. The coincidental strengthening of the police force adds teeth to the decrees toughening the penal code concerning hooliganism. Hooliganism, it is worth pointing out, is usually an individual act. The three new political crimes of the 16 September decree represent a group action and therefore reflect a much more serious concern. (See BPG item #1074 for treatment of the 16 September decree in a different context.)

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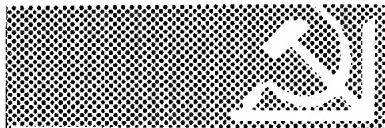
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Media Lines

7 November 1966

CULTURAL PURGE REDUCES CHICOM FOREIGN PROPAGANDA PUBLICATIONS. In recent weeks late deliveries and non-deliveries have shown that there is a disruption in the publishing of Chicom foreign language propaganda publications. The disruption probably stems from a "purging" of the editors and staffs of these publications in the "cultural revolution" currently sweeping Communist China; the cultural revolution had previously caused a drastic curtailment in Chicom domestic newspapers and periodicals. (Media Lines, BPG 197 of 15 August, BPG 200 of 26 September 1966) The monthly, China Reconstructs, one of the best known Chinese Communist propaganda magazines to circulate abroad, has not been seen since the July number. Evergreen, a bi-monthly political magazine for youth and students, known for its "revolutionary" content, has apparently not been published since June. China Pictorial, another monthly prestige magazine, did not mention the activities of the Red Guards in its August issue, the latest to appear abroad; the editing of this number must have coincided with the upsurge in Red Guard activity. The omission may well have been due to the editors' doubts as to how to present the topic, since the Red Guards have met with hostility even inside China. Women of China, quarterly prestige journal, has not appeared since April, presumably having no replacement for its publisher and editor, Tung Plen, who is known to have been fired and who has been accused of "revisionism." (Unclassified)



Propagandist's Guide to WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS



#7

27 September-24 October 1966

ICM AND "SOCIALIST CAMP" AFFAIRS

1. The excessive words and actions of the Chinese "cultural revolution" (CR) (see below) draw increasingly sharp, voluminous critical reporting and denunciations from Soviet and other Communist world leaders and media, including even the heretofore reticent Poles -- though the hard-core fence-straddlers (notably the N. Vietnamese, N. Koreans, and Rumanians) maintain their silence on the revolution. Although the Chinese try to counter with pages of articles alleging "worldwide endorsement," they can cite only relatively unknown or anonymous figures: even the rabidly loyal Albanians are now avoiding the subject. Soviet and other Communist media emphasize: (a) the anti-Soviet bias; (b) the use of Chinese non-Communist elements against Party organizations and leaders; (c) irrationality, confusion and conflict among the Red Guards; and (d) opposition by the Chinese Communists and by the people as a whole. Chinese bellicosity toward the USSR/CPSU leads Czech Party daily RUDE PRAVO to declare that anti-Sovietism has become "the dominant" CPR foreign policy (Oct. 18).
2. The extent of Chinese isolation is starkly demonstrated when, for the first time in the regime's history, no important foreign dignitary attends the annual October 1 National Day anniversary of its founding. Lin Piao drives the wedge further by blustering anti-CPSU remarks in his key speech, impelling the diplomats of the Warsaw Pact countries (except for Albania and Rumania) and Mongolia to walk out demonstratively. The Japanese CP, once so militantly aligned with the Chinese but professing "independence" since early summer (Nos. 2-5), is now moved to criticize Chinese theories as well as actions (in connection with a new Chinese-line faction split from the JCP) (Sept 22). And the formerly Chinese-sympathizing Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP, an extreme leftwing splinter from the PSI), now criticizes the CCP's attacks on the USSR and declares itself "seeing eye to eye" with the CPSU. (Sept. 28)
3. The CPSU makes another major effort to forge some sort of an anti-CCP bloc, or at least to achieve a joint declaration of condemnation -- but apparently in vain. Following a series of bilateral Brezhnev meetings with the chiefs of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, and Yugoslav parties in the preceding weeks, the Soviet party and state invite (all?) the ruling parties to send top-level party-state delegations to Moscow. Delegations come from all East European countries except Albania and from Cuba and Mongolia -- but (reportedly in the face of adamant Rumanian resistance) the only evident result is a TASS statement which says that they "exchanged opinions on a wide range of questions of international policy." (Oct. 17-22).

INTERNATIONAL FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

4. The International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) holds its 6th Congress in East Berlin (Oct. 10-15), after the All-China Journalist Association refuses to participate -- because IOJ has degenerated into a "despicable tool, controlled and manipulated by the Soviets (6). With no dissenting voices present, the Congress smoothly follows the Soviet line -- as the Albanians charge in a slashing press attack (12). (See also BPG Item #1071)

COMMUNIST CHINA

5. What's really happening in China becomes ever more difficult to determine amid a flow of reports (mostly sketchy and often of doubtful reliability) depicting a highly fluid and confused situation. The grotesque adulation of Mao continues, and Lin Piao publicly appears more than ever his heir apparent-- yet when a million and a half Red Guards are assembled in Peking, on October 18, their largest rally to date, Mao and Lin merely drive speedily past, waving, but not speaking a word. Could this be evidence that Lin had planned the show to intimidate strong behind-the-scenes opposition, but that the power struggle was at such a critical stage that he wouldn't risk a speech, as some analysts speculate? The Red Guards' own daily is reported as admitting (on Oct. 20) lack of unity among the Guards and a "crucial struggle between opposing lines in the cultural revolution."

6. Various reports during this period describe Red Guard posters as attacking more Party figures, now including the downgraded President Liu Shao-chi and his wife, Foreign Minister Chen Yi (subsequently reported withdrawn), and the First Secy of the Sinkiang Party Committee: the "revolution" seems to enter a new phase as the Guards attack and demonstrate against the new Peking City Committee which was installed by the first purge! Opposition actions are also reported, including poster attacks on Mao and Lin, posters lauding Liu (removed by the Guards and police), anti-Communist leaflets, explosions, riots, and a major, continuing, industrial strike in Peking.

7. The Chinese strike hard and continuously at the Soviet party and state, both as part of and apart from the CR activities. They hammer away on the old theme of Soviet-American collusion in articles pegged to President Johnson's Oct. 7 speech and the prospect of "peace talks," U.S. lifting of export restrictions of "non-strategic commodities," and Gromyko's talk with Johnson, trumpeting shrilly that "even if both are added together, they are no more than a couple of paper tigers!" After Moscow orders departure of the Chinese students in the USSR in response to Chinese suspension and expulsion of all foreign students in China, Peking officially protests "the unjustifiable decision unilaterally suspending" their study, and organizes new demonstrations at the Soviet Embassy. The Foreign Ministry note calls the Soviet action "another grave incident worsening Sino-Soviet relations" and publicly "warns" the Soviet leadership, referring to it (in a Mao quote) as "the enemy." In what must be a new precedent for diplomatic usage, it screams: "Let all monsters and demons tremble before our great proletarian cultural revolution and before the great Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought!" (22)

8. Russian-sourced press reports tell of Chinese demonstrations along the Soviet border and distribution of leaflets on the Soviet side calling for the return of the disputed territories; also of the strengthening of Soviet border forces and of armed clashes. (Oct. 2 & 5)
9. The Chinese also keep up their running battle with the Indonesian Government, with official protest notes on Sept. 30 and Oct. 18, and a number of NCNA releases.

SOVIET AFFAIRS

10. Soviet leaders and media sharply increase the volume and tone of their coverage of Chinese developments, adding their own reporting and criticism as well as replaying all possible criticism by other parties. They naturally emphasize the line that the CR has nothing in common with M-L, but is anti-Chinese-Communist as well as anti-Soviet. They accuse the Chinese of trying to turn the Soviet people against the Soviet Party and government, while Soviet media are implicitly doing the same in reverse!
11. By way of preparation for the fruitless Moscow summit meeting, the Soviets not only held the Brezhnev consultations mentioned in para. 3, but also (a) went out of their way to deny hegemonic intentions when extolling Brezhnev's talks (Sept 27); (b) floated a "trial balloon" by featuring in PRAVDA a Sudanese CP call for the convocation of a world Communist conference; and (c) had Kosygin openly demand a "resolute rebuff" to the Chinese in the presence of visiting Gomulka (Oct 13).
12. While entertaining the new Indonesian regime's Foreign Minister Malik, the USSR encounters some Chinese-publicized criticism from the former Moscow correspondent of the Indonesian CP's daily HARIAN RAKJAT, now in Peking (5), and also from five presumably pro-Chinese I. students recently expelled from Lumumba U. (14). Moscow again accuses Kenyan papers and Vice President Murumbi of vilifying the USSR (11).
13. In Europe, Moscow concludes a nuclear research cooperation and TV program exchange agreement with Paris (1) and again pushes "European security" (8).
14. Internally, the 2nd anniversary of K's ouster passes unnoticed, but a new history textbook leaves him no longer an "unperson" (1). Despite claims of a record grain harvest, there is no loosening of curbs on flour distribution imposed 3 years ago (23).

EAST EUROPE

15. POLAND: In a reversal of its previous reluctance to criticize the Chinese, the Polish Party lashes out in TRYBUNA LUDU on Sept 29 with one of the most effective (and quotable) across-the-board denunciations by any major party. Meanwhile, although the 10th anniversary of the Polish-Soviet crisis

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#7

27 September-24 October 1966

WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS

CHRONOLOGY

September 3 and continuing: Soviet media engage in semantic acrobatics to avoid use of the term "Red Guards" (which has a very prestigious ring in the Communist lexicon) when referring to the rampaging Chinese youth vigilantes. After initially using a straight translation of "RG" (and, in Russian, hesitantly trying out a blatant distortion -- "Krasnyye okhranniki" -- in which the word "okhranniki" still has the old connotation of agents of the Tsarist secret political police), they finally settle in mid-September on an ingenious solution: beginning with a prominent PRAVDA article on the 16th, they use a direct transliteration from the Chinese rather than a translation -- "Khunveibini" in Cyrillic, or "Hung Weipings" in the Latin alphabet! No other Communist media follow their lead, however.

September 22 (delayed): Two articles in Japanese CP daily AKAHATA denounce a new faction of pro-Chinese Communists who had arrogated leadership of the important Yamaguchi Prefecture Committee and control its newspaper CHOSHU SHINBUN. The JCP/CC on September 5 approved the expulsion of "five important anti-Party elements, Fukuda, Koreseko, Sumioka, Obayashi, and Turuya," -- following which the purgees issued a statement on the 6th declaring the formation of a new "Yamaguchi Prefecture Committee of the JCP (left faction)" and "by forwarding CHOSHU SHINBUN to Party and democratic organizations throughout the nation, attempted to expand their anti-Party activities on a nationwide scale." The unsigned A editorial denounces the "traitorous Fukuda-Harada faction" clearly though implicitly as a subversive instrument of the Chinese CP and reveals serious JCP concern about its possible success:

"The F-H faction ... are modern dogmatists because they regard the views of a foreign Party as the sole dogmas and attempt to apply them mechanically to Japan. They practice left-wing opportunism in which struggle is replaced by empty revolutionary phrases, sectarianism, and demands for dissolving the Party....

...They have been appealing to the readers of the AKAHATA Sunday edition to stop subscribing to (A, which is) a bogus CP newspaper and instead read the CHOSHU SHINBUN ... saying 'you may subscribe to A as a counter-teacher, but you should not pay for it' ... causing confusion in deliveries and bill collection. They also robbed more than 100,000 yen from the branch office...."

The second A article signed by Fuha Tetsuzo replies at length to charges of "degradation of the JCP leadership toward revisionism" made by the dissidents. First he rebutts their "theory of the American-Japanese-Soviet 'Holy Alliance'" -- borrowed from the arguments of a certain foreign power, and their denunciation of the JCP for "organizing an 'anti-China campaign.'" Denying that the dissidents stand

for true independence in the ICM, Tetsuzo cites CHOSHU SHINBUN's publication on August 24 of a speech at the "Welcoming Rally for the Cultural Delegation of Chinese Youth" by one of the dissident clique, Sumioka, who "praised the thought of the Party leader of a certain foreign power as 'the highest peak of M-L in modern times' and admired him as the 'guiding star of the world's people (which naturally includes the Japanese people).'" (See previous reporting of the JCP's movement away from alignment with the CCP and denunciation of the earlier pro-Chinese dissident Shida faction, Nos. 2-5;)

September 24 and continuing throughout period: Chinese media are overflowing with materials on various aspects of the "cultural revolution" (CR), the activities of the "Red Guards" (RG) and acclaim and love for Mao and the revolution by foreigners (mostly little-known or unnamed) as well as Chinese. On the 27th, for example, NCNA cites praise from pro-Chinese Ceylonese Communists Sanmugathasan and De Silva, Burmese writer Daw Amah, "Denkichi Takeshita, the chairman of Aichi chapter of the Japan-China Friendship Association" and others; on the 28th, "an American friend" in a Hong Kong bookshop; on the 29th "General Wajih al-Madani, commander-in-chief of the Palestine Liberation Army," "a young Ghanian," "Abdullah Natepe, secretary of Zanzibar's Afro-Shirazi Party youth department," etc. In a round-up of "expressions of boundless ardent love and respect" by "the working people of Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and the GDR" on the 30th, NCNA quotes only "a Polish composer," "a journalist in Western Poland," "a retired worker" in Bulgaria, "a cultural worker" in Hungary, "a college student of the GDR," etc. On October 1, NCNA again claims that, "despite the increasingly vicious attacks and slanders by the Soviet revisionist leading group against the CCP and Chairman Mao, the Soviet people show ever deeper love and respect for the great Chairman Mao and for the great thought of Mao Tse-tung": here again they quote only "a teacher from Moscow," "a young student from Georgia," etc.

September 27 and continuing throughout period: Soviet and other Bloc media increasingly report in a critical vein on the Chinese CR, depicting not only the adulation of Mao and the violence of Red Guard actions but also their anti-Soviet bias, their threat to CCP organs and leaders, and opposition by Chinese Communists and the people. On the 27th, for example, IZVESTIYA carries a Peking dispatch describing attacks on Hua Lo-keng, Chairman of the Chinese Mathematical Society:

"...This scientist, whose works are known to all mathematicians in the world, is being called a reactionary bourgeois authority. The mathematician is accused of having opposed the ideas of Chairman Mao and of having at one time called the great leap forward hurried and divorced from real life.... They charge him with having praised the achievements of the Soviet Union in the conquest of space."

On the same day, TASS reports from Peking that "the 'cultural revolution' in China has touched almost all of the Chinese press.

Many newspapers and magazines have been closed, others renamed, and editorial offices of a number of publications reorganized." And another TASS Peking bulletin that day describes PEOPLE'S DAILY newest glorification of Mao and miscellaneous leaflets circulated by the Hung Weipings (TASS's English version). Yugoslav TANYUG reporting on the 27th is slightly more "alarmist" (as is often the case): it sees in a Peking poster confirmation that "the formation of so-called international Red Guard detachments with headquarters in Peking has begun" and finds in the latest Anna Louise Strong newsletter confirmation of "the information that military drilling of the Red Guard has already begun and that in a few days ... some detachments of the Red Guard will be armed."

September 27: In an article extolling CPSU chief Brezhnev's September visits with the CP leaders in Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia as strengthening relations, IZVESTIYA denies Soviet hegemonic ambitions and implicitly attributes same to the Chinese.

September 27-October 1: East German boss Ulbricht visits Tito in Belgrade and Brioni: the communique on the 1st declares "concurrence of viewpoints on the most important international problems" but only an "exchange of views" on problems of the ICM.

September 28: Hungarian Party daily NEPSZABADSAG interviews SecyGen Vecchietti of the (extreme leftwing, "anti-revisionist") Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity (PSIUP): according to Budapest MTI in English, he says that the PSIUP "sees eye to eye" with the CPSU and the Hungarian CP on "the more important problems" of the international situation and the ICM and "voiced concern over the CCP leaders' attacks against the Soviet Union, declaring that they were disrupting the unity of the international working class movement and thereby obstructing all parties, including his party."

Cuban boss Castro again manifests concern over the problem of material versus moral incentives as a focal point of contention in his regime, implying that Cuba's "old" Communists oppose his emphasis on moral stimuli and prefer to use "the sign of the peso" to spur production.

September 29: A long NCNA review of "the present situation of the struggle of M-Ls and revolutionary people throughout the world against imperialism, reaction, and modern revisionism" finds it "excellent." NCNA again denounces the CPSU leaders for "betraying M-L and capitulating to U.S. imperialism," and for forming "a new holy alliance against Communism, against the people, against revolution, and against China." However, "the modern revisionist clique is today torn by contradictions and disunity" and is "nothing more than a feeble paper tiger." Another NCNA story on Chinese material successes states that "a new situation, an all-round leap forward, is now in the making on the industrial front."

A long "Victory Depends on Unity" editorial in Polish Party daily TRYBUNA LUDU sternly condemns the CPR for "categorically rejecting" all Soviet unity proposals, "using a whole arsenal of unsavory slanders and accusations" of "betrayal", "conspiracy," etc.:

"The anti-unity scissionist political line of the CCP, the staging of hostile demonstrations in front of the Soviet Embassy and diplomatic missions of other socialist countries, the proclamation by the 11th plenum of the CCP/CC of the so-called 'proletarian cultural revolution' and a call to 'open fire' on 'those who are in power' who march along the road of 'revisionism' and 'capitalism' which is 'contrary to the ideas of Mao Tse-tung,' the assaults on party and state activists and the programs carried out by the so-called Red Guards on party committees suspected of 'revisionism,' various brawling excesses of unfledged school youth compromising the idea of socialism -- all that provokes deep concern and revulsion within the ranks of all Communist and workers parties which see in the conduct of the leading organs of the CCP a betrayal of the principles of proletarian internationalism and of the ideology of the Communist movement."

The editorial quotes at length from Chen Yi's September 7 remarks to Japanese MPs (#6) to turn the "collaboration" accusation implicitly against the Chinese, using a quote attributed to AFP: "Chen Yi obviously confirms the opinion of numerous observers that China sharpens its conflict with the Soviet Union in order to prepare ground for direct talks with the U.S. Government."

Bulgarian Party daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial on the same day charges that Chinese opposition to Soviet unity efforts "borders on treachery to the just struggle of the Vietnamese people."

Radio Moscow reports that Brezhnev and CPUSA GenSecy Gus Hall on the 28th held long talks which "showed full coincidence of views of both parties on all the principal questions of the present time."

October 1: At Peking's celebration of the CPR's 17th anniversary there are, for the first time, no important foreign dignitaries present (the top-ranking guest listed was the president of the Somali National Assembly), no party-to-party greetings from Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary or Poland, and only pro forma congratulations from other Communist states. Lin Piao shares the center of the stage with Mao Tse-tung, both "in buoyant spirits and smiling broadly, waving greetings" to "the biggest parade since the founding of new China." Chinese pronouncements are largely concerned with the internal problems of the "cultural revolution," but keynoter Lin includes the following blasts at the CPSU:

"... Imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU at its center are colluding and

actively plotting peace talk swindles.... The Chinese people will continue to ... carry the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and the struggle against modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its center through to the end!"

Diplomatic representatives of the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Mongolia and Poland walk out in protest.

French Minister of Scientific Research and Atom and Space questions Peyrefitte in Moscow agrees to cooperation on a 70-billion electron-volt accelerator under construction near Moscow.

Hanoi broadcasts an editorial from the September HOC TAP [North Vietnamese journal of doctrine] which admits inadequacies in the Party's "theory-formulating task" and says that a new "theory-formulating" committee and program have been established.

UPI reports from Moscow on the publication of a new history textbook which gives Khrushchey credit for his role in the historic 20th, 21st and 22nd Party Congresses and as instigator of the post-Stalin reforms. Together with a recent one-volume history of WWII, it is "seen here by qualified observers as an attempt to be less emotional and more objective about fallen or discredited leaders."

October 2: Soviet Defense Ministry's daily KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) reports that Soviet missile specialists at sites in North Vietnam had come under attack during U.S. bombing raids.

October 2 and 23: AP Moscow cites "Russian sources" for an Oct. 2 report that Chinese Communists have staged demonstrations along the Sino-Soviet border and distributed leaflets on the Soviet side calling for return of the disputed territories to China. "The sources said there had been no armed clashes between Soviet and Chinese troops, although they mentioned Soviet gunboats on the Amur River being fired upon." A London OBSERVER article on the same day "by our Foreign Staff" states that "clashes between Soviet and Chinese troops have been taking place this summer along the southernmost part of the 6,400-mile border between the two." It cites "travellers' reports from Russia and Afghanistan" saying that the clashes have been described locally as "quite serious." "Soviet soldiers wounded in the fighting have been seen getting an enthusiastic welcome on the streets of Dushambe, capital of the Soviet Tadzhik Republic."

On the 23rd, a Hong Kong report of the London SUNDAY TIMES cites "reports given to neutral Asian envoys by Soviet diplomats in Peking" about Chinese Red Guards demonstrations along the border and the firing on Soviet gunboats. "They have also confirmed that Soviet forces along the Chinese border have been increased recently with troops quietly withdrawn from East Germany."

October 3: PRAVDA reports a declaration by the Sudanese CP which denounces "the Chinese leaders' splitting activities," and concludes that "favorable conditions are being created for the convocation of a conference of Communist and workers parties."

TASS announces the signing of a new military-economic assistance pact with North Vietnam.

Luis Turcios, leader of the Guatemalan guerrilla Rebel Armed Forces dies in an automobile accident outside the capital: the organization issues a bulletin stating that his command would be taken over by his right-hand man, Cesar Montes.

October 4: The Yugoslav Party CC approves a drastic reorganization of the leading bodies of Party. Principal change is the shift of supreme policy-making power from the Executive Committee to a newly-created 25-man Presidium headed by Tito and including the top leaders of the central organization and of each of the six "republics," apparently leaving the reduced-status Exec. Com. with only administrative powers. Observers do not concur on estimates of practical results. On the same day, a group of 30 Yugoslav representatives attending an agricultural exhibit in Munich defect en masse.

NCNA reports a new Chinese Embassy protest note of September 30 to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry against "the Indonesian rightwing forces' planned organization of hooligans to conduct wild anti-China provocations in front of the Chinese Embassy" on the previous day.

AFF Hong Kong cites travelers for reports that posters glorifying the downgraded Liu Shao-chi had appeared on the walls of Canton -- briefly: they were removed by Red Guards and city officials, who launched investigations.

NCNA Geneva reports that "the delegation of the Chinese Red Cross Society walked out of the 86th session of the Executive Committee of the League of Red Cross Societies which opened in Geneva on 4 October" in protest against the invitation to the "representative of the Red Cross Society of the South Vietnam puppet regime, who represents nobody." Before walking out, Chinese Chief "Wang Min exposed the collusion of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in mounting a 'peace talks' fraud."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes its correspondent's report of the Chinese 17th anniversary celebration in Peking. Highlights:

"More anti-Soviet slanders sounded from the grandstand ... than even the most pronounced enemies of Communism, the American imperialists, permit themselves to voice....

"A 'foreign guest' -- the leader of a pitiful little group of Australian splitters, Hill -- ... dared to accuse the Soviet Union

in a provocative speech of intending to perpetrate an 'attack from without' on China...."

The Government of Uruguay expels 4 Soviet diplomats identified as "members of the Soviet military intelligence branch" and charged with "seeking to aggravate the economic and financial crisis which has plagued Uruguay for almost two years," including a 24-hour strike by 200,000 workers on September 15.

October 4-7: A Sofia meeting of the CEMA [Eastern European Economic Organization] Executive council apparently goes no further than to "recommend further efforts to extend mutual trade between CEMA countries in 1966-1970," according to TASS.

October 5: PRAVDA publishes a summary of an article from the pro-Soviet Belgian CP paper DRAPPEAU ROUGE condemning the Chinese "sorrowful and tragic distortion of the great revolutionary movement" and expressing "hope that the Chinese people and Communists will manage to find ways of rectifying the situation." It also reports Israeli CP denunciation of the Chinese splittists. TASS on the same day publicizes a Canadian CP protest against the Chinese "rude actions."

NCNA on the same day publicizes attacks on the CPSU revisionists by New Zealand CP SecyGen Wilcox and "the Karachi monthly MANSHUR."

A SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA review of the Chinese press on the "cultural revolution" includes the following highlights:

"Reading the Chinese press carefully, one cannot but arrive at the conclusion that a definite political task has been given to the Khunveibini ["Red Guards"] -- to strike a blow against the experienced cadres of revolutionaries, party workers, and progressive intellectuals; against all those who remain loyal to the ideas of proletarian internationalism and fraternal solidarity with the working people of socialist countries....

"The Khunveibini directly aim at displacing old cadres. How can this be explained? Only that the old cadres learned from the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and do not accept the anti-Soviet slander of the Khunveibini. Is it not because these people have drawn their ideas of M-L from prime sources and not only from Mao Tse-tung's quotations...?"

NCNA Peking publicizes a long statement by Anwar Dharma, former correspondent of the Indonesian CP organ HARIAN RAKJAT in Moscow, denouncing his own expulsion by the Soviets as further proof of "the intimate cooperation between the Soviet modern revisionists and the fascist military regime of Indonesia," arranged to prepare the way for the visit of Adam Malik to Moscow.

Reuters Hong Kong cites "travelers from Communist China" for reports of explosions in Canton during the anniversary celebrations, with distribution of anti-Communist leaflets and a new anti-Mao pamphlet entitled "The Vanguard."

Reuters reports from Bogota that the Colombian Govt expelled Bulgarian commercial representative Stefan Popov. "The Foreign Ministry refused to give reasons ..., but sources said they included interference in domestic political affairs and alleged connection with pro-Communist guerrillas operating in southeast Colombia."

October 5-12: A North Korean Workers (Communist) Party conference reaffirms the "declaration of independence" announced by NODONG SINMUN on August 12 (#5). The keynote speech by Chairman Kim Il-song expands on the earlier "declaration," providing many new quotable passages aimed against both "left opportunism" and "modern revisionism" and against the practices of both the CCP and the CPSU, without mentioning either by name. He also declares that "every socialist country should dispatch volunteers to Vietnam."

October 6: The All-China Journalists' Association issues a statement on its refusal to participate in the 6th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) in Berlin, October 10-15, asserting that the IOJ is "controlled and manipulated by the Soviet revisionist leading clique" and "has degenerated into a despicable tool for promoting" the latter's line.

TANYUG Peking reports on a list published by the Chinese Red Guards of the names of 84 CCP officials -- including eight members or alternate members of the CC, headed by Peng Chen and Lu Ting-yi -- whose activities have already been unmasked and against whom the fight should be further conducted.

Cairo AL-AHRAM reports that Egypt will send nuclear experts on "working and training missions" to the Soviet Union.

The Russian Federated Republic, largest unit of the USSR, introduces new penalties against demonstrations, strikes, subversive writings, and "slanders against the Soviet state."

PRAVDA summarizes an editorial denouncing the CCP in "MARDOM, central organ of People's Party of Iran."

October 7: TANYUG Peking reports publication of a new list of 130 lesser officials who are criticized by the Red Guard. It also reports posters appealing to all revolutionary members of the Communist Youth League to prevent the organization from being dissolved under Red Guard attack.

Moscow announces a decision to "suspend the training of CPR students at Soviet educational establishments and research institutions"

effective in October, because "this September the Chinese side unilaterally violated the principle of reciprocity" with Soviet students in the CPR and "ordered them to return home before October 10."

October 8: NCNA interprets President Johnson's speech of the 7th as advocating "greater 'reconciliation'" between the U.S. and the USSR "so as to enable the U.S. to further concentrate its strength for the war of aggression in Vietnam." Johnson's endorsement of German reunification "means that he wants the Soviet revisionist leading clique to hand the GDR over to the West German militarist clique."

PRAVDA editorially endorses recent moves toward strengthening European security, including the "Bucharest declaration of socialist states," the De Gaulle visit to the USSR, the proposal by "the parliamentarians of 8 European countries" for a conference of European parliaments, and the 16th Pugwash conference in Sopot (Poland).

TASS publicizes a condemnation of the Chinese in Czech Party theoretical organ NOVA MYSL, including the charge that "such rude provocations (as those staged against the USSR in Peking) have never taken place in any civilized country!" TASS also reports from San Jose on an article denouncing the Chinese by Arnoldo Ferreta, CC member of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica.

October 8 & 15: LOS ANGELES TIMES correspondent Morris in Damascus on the 8th cites "Western diplomatic sources here" reporting that "Soviet experts, believed to be military officers, have been spotted recently in Syria's sealed-off border areas close to the tense frontier with Israel." He also says that Syrian CP leader Bakdash was quoted by a Hungarian newspaper as urging all Communists to support the present government in Damascus. NYTIMES on the 15th reports that "the Soviet Union's strong support for Syria in her dispute with Israel in the UN Security Council and reports that Russian arms and instructors have been provided for two Syrian guerrilla groups have revived fears among diplomats over the peace of the Middle East."

October 9: PRAVDA, TASS, and Radio Moscow reports on China emphasize the anti-CCP bias of the rampaging Khunveibini ("Red Guards"), including posters and demonstrations against the new leaders of the Peking City Committee, which had been purged only a few months ago and riots throughout the country, where "workers are coming out more and more often in defense of the local CP organizations attacked by Khunveibini from Peking." PRAVDA also notes that "the anti-Soviet campaign is being stepped up."

Tokyo ASAHI reports on a Peking round table discussion between three members of a Japanese wrestling group and representatives of the Red Guard- at High School No. 85, including:

"Question: Is it not necessary to study about foreign countries besides studying the Mao thought?"

"Answer: We can understand the world objectively if we study the Mao Tse-tung ideology alone. Mao Tse-tung thought is a very great ideology, and we think that the study of this alone is sufficient."

October 10: A Gomulka-led Polish party-state delegation arrives in Moscow. Moscow upsets Vienna by postponing on 12 hours notice President Podgorny's scheduled visit to Austria on grounds of illness. (On the 15th, TASS announces that it is rescheduled for Nov. 14-21.)

PRAVDA reports condemnation of the Chinese CR by SecyGen Acosta Salas of the Peruvian CP, and Radio Moscow reports a similar denunciation in "the Iraqi CP paper TARIQ ASH-SHAAB."

NYTIMES correspondent in Cairo reports, according to "informed sources," that "the Govt has quietly started a campaign against Communists and Com. sympathizers who have attained influential positions in the country's only (legal) political movement, the Arab Socialist Union. The sources said that a number of intellectuals, perhaps 27 to 50, had been arrested since last week...."

October 10-15: East Berlin ADN claims attendance by "more than 200 delegates representing 42 countries" at the 6th Congress of the International Organization of Journalists (IOJ). Reporting indicates that all speeches uneventfully followed the Soviet line -- as the Albanian BASHKIMI charges in a slashing attack on the 12th! (See Oct. 6 for Chinese boycott.)

October 11: Moscow's KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) article by Leontyev hits at "some Kenyan newspapers" for "publishing all kinds of fabrications with a view to vilifying the Soviet Union and making the peoples of Kenya and other African states mistrust the peaceful and friendly policy of the USSR," and "expresses regret over the fact that Vice President J. Murumbi also took part in this campaign...."

October 11-14: The Italian CP CC holds a plenum in Rome, while the non-Communist press comments on the party's difficulties, with defections from the right to the center-left coalition and from the left to pro-Chinese splinter groups. According to TANYUG, SecyGen Longo's opening speech accuses the Chinese leaders of having inaugurated the "cultural revolution" to offset "disappointing" domestic achievements and the failure of their opposition to the policy of "peaceful coexistence" in the international field. Reuters reports that "more than 100 delegates" met in Leghorn (Livorno) on the 14th to found a new pro-Chinese CP: an East Berlin Radio commentary by Mario Porto on the 17th belittles the move as one which is not taken seriously by the PCI. He states: "There are five small pro-Chinese groups organized in Italy. No one known in the workers movement belongs to them. There is such competition among these small groups, primarily over the money sent by the Albanian Embassy or the Chinese Legation in Bern...."

October 12: Radio Moscow broadcasts a Moscow speech by Hungarian Politburo member Sandor Gaspar which includes "our firm conviction that one cannot abuse for long the patience of the wise and patient Chinese people with their great past.... Under the name of socialism, one cannot go on doing something different for any length of time...."

Warsaw's TRYBUNA LUDU and the Budapest MTI agency both comment from Peking on the "new phase" of the CR in which bodies and organizations created by the CR are already coming under attack.

October 12, 16, 19: Press reporting reflects continuing unrest in Poland. Reviewing the events of the millennium celebrations on the 12th, Cardinal Wyszynski angrily refers to the regime's refusal to admit Pope Paul, its attack on the Polish bishops' conciliatory letter to the German episcopate, etc., and bitterly castigates those men with "hard, stony hearts" who forbid the building of new churches badly needed (NYTIMES). The Cardinal and bishops receive "one of their greatest ovations ever" from 150,000 jammed into the center of Wroclaw on the 16th (AP). And Polish as well as foreign observers are "struck by the narrowness" of the regime's handling of the 10th anniversary of the Soviet-Polish confrontation. TRYBUNA LUDU avoids the "conflict" aspects, blandly speaks of the return to leadership of Gomulka "and other outstanding activists" without mentioning that they returned from 8 years of disgrace, imprisonment and torture, etc. (NYTIMES)

October 13: Speaking together with Polish chief Gomulka in Sverdlovsk, Soviet Premier Kosygin openly deplores Chinese policy and "demands that a resolute rebuff be given to those who are attempting to split the unity of the WCM, who will not cease subversive activities...."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries the diary of Dashdavaa, a 23-year-old Mongolian student in his last year at Shanghai Textile College who was persecuted and beaten by the Khunveibini before being forced to leave China. TASS reports denunciations of the CR by the CPs of Chile and Colombia.

NCNA reports the U.S. Commerce Dept's decision to lift export restrictions on "nonstrategic" commodities to the USSR "against the background of recent intense U.S.-Soviet collusion and bargaining over the Vietnam question and U.S. efforts to promote 'peaceful evolution' in the Soviet Union and the East European countries."

October 14: Bucharest releases a communique on the October 5-13 visit of a top-level Finnish CP delegation: they agree in their emphasis on independence and equality, -- and in their insistence that "differing opinions between CPs must not affect normal comradely relations between them."

TASS reports that Rector Rumyantsev of Moscow Peoples Friendship (Patrice Lumumba) University brands as "a gross invention ... a statement made by a group of Indonesian students to the effect that they

had allegedly been subjected in Moscow to 'psychological pressure.'" Their statement, in the form of a letter to the Indonesian Govt, was published "at the beginning of the month in the Indonesian paper BERITA YUDHA." Rummyantsev says they were failing students and "someone wants to make use of this for a definite purpose, to make political capital."

Radio Peking broadcasts an all-out endorsement by Eiichi Hane, leader of a Japanese Socialist Party delegation, including:

"As for the Vietnamese people's anti-U.S. struggle, the Soviet Union has, in fact, given no aid of any sort, and China has single-handedly taken the responsibility of aiding Vietnam.... It is my opinion that even if the Soviet Union attacks China from the back, even if Japanese imperialism launches an attack on China, or even if all other imperialists attack China together, China has sufficient strength to smash their attacks."

October 15: Moscow central Trade Union daily TRUD denounces the CR across the board under the heading: "Nothing in Common with Revolution." It includes descriptions of condemnations by Communists everywhere, with specific reference to France, Spain (exile), Costa Rica, Australia, GDR, Italy, and Lebanon. KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA again writes about the apparent Chinese effort to wipe out the Communist Youth League and resistance against it.

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU reports "very sharp attacks" by Red Guard posters and loudspeakers against Liu Shao-chi and his wife for supporting efforts to control the RG.

TASS reports a CANADIAN TRIBUNE article by Canadian CP SecyGen Kashtan denouncing the CR.

NCNA again reports charges that the Indonesian Govt is using "Chiang Kai-shek agents" to persecute Overseas Chinese.

NYTIMES correspondent Mooney in Paris cites the visit of Bulgarian Premier Zhivkov to Paris this week to demonstrate the dilemma of the French CP in handling De Gaulle's moves toward closer relations with Communist regimes abroad while ignoring the FCP at home.

October 15-16: Western correspondents cite a passage in the latest HOC TAP editorial in which Hanoi "moved closer to a public acknowledgment that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam is their creature": it lists as "examples of clever application of Communist principles" the formation and activities of the NLFSV, following the founding of the Indochinese Democratic Front in the late nineteen thirties and formation of the Vietminh in 1941.

October 16: Peking PEOPLE'S DAILY Observer article comments on President Johnson's Oct. 7 speech:

"U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, and so is K. revisionism. Even if both are added together, they are still no more than a couple of paper tigers!"

NCNA reports denunciation of Soviet-U.S. collusion by the Singapore Socialist Front organ BARISAN and noted Burmese writer Daw Ah Mah in LUDU.

Prague RUDE PRAVO reports attacks on Mao and Lin Piao among the Red Guards activities.

October 17: The second anniversary of Khrushchev's ouster is noted in the Communist world only (as far as we know) by an Albanian ZERI I POPULLIT article: "The Failure of Khrushchev's Successors on the K. Path."

Poland and North Vietnam sign an agreement on economic aid for 1967, hailed by NHAN DAN on the 20th as "a new step" in "militant solidarity."

Prague Radio commentator Slahounek says about the Red Guards:

"If anyone wanted to drag socialism in the mud in front of the entire world public opinion, he could hardly have outdone the schoolboys with red bands on their arms who have unleashed something that can only be compared to mass hysteria in the darkest Middle Ages...."

October 17-19: Peking PEOPLE'S DAILY devotes a whole page on the 17th to "worldwide coverage of acclamations" of the CR by "well-known citizens" of Japan, Iraq, Colombia, Mexico, Australia, Sudan, Algeria, France, Mongolia, and Britain; and most of a page on the 19th to tributes to Mao by "12 friends from 9 Asian, African and Latin American countries."

October 17-22: Top party, state and military chiefs of all the EE Communist countries (except Albania), Cuba, and Mongolia meet in Moscow in what is seen by Western observers as another Soviet effort to forge some sort of an anti-Chinese bloc, or at least to achieve a joint declaration of condemnation. PRAVDA on the opening day seems to sound the keynote with what TASS describes as a "theoretical article" which says that

"the leaders of the CCP have rolled downhill on the road of departure from the Leninist principles of internationalism, slipped into nationalistic positions which confuse class consciousness and prevent the working people from seeing the common purposes of all revolutionary fighters,... have counterposed themselves to the entire socialist community, and ... reject the joint actions of all progressive forces against the aggression by American imperialism in Vietnam."

As reports leak out to the Western press that Rumania is adamantly opposed to any joint action or statement, PRAVDA returns on the 20th to an editorial expressing "bitter regret and condemnation" at Chinese actions. But the "statement" which TASS finally issues shortly after midnight on the 22nd merely confirms that the visitors were shown several rocket launchings and adds only that "while in the Soviet Union" they "had meetings and talks," during which "they exchanged opinions on a wide range of questions of international policy of interest to the sides concerned ... in an atmosphere of fraternal cordiality and friendship."

October 18: The strange, non-speaking appearance of Mao and Lin Piao at a rally of a million and a half Red Guards in Peking -- they drive past at 40 miles per hour -- draws press speculation: the NYTIMES reports analysts as seeing the rally aimed at intimidating opponents of the CR but the absence of speeches as indicating the seriousness of the struggle for power.

Prague RUDE PRAVO article by Zdenek Horeni declares that "Anti-Sovietism has undoubtedly become the dominant foreign policy product of the CPR..."

Moscow releases its annual "slogans" for the forthcoming "October Revolution" anniversary: last year's "long live the cohesion of the great peoples of the Soviet Union and China" is replaced by "to friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Chinese peoples" -- the same wording as used for Albania, and differing from the "long live the eternal, unbreakable friendship and cooperation" applied to all other "socialist" countries, including Yugoslavia.

TASS announces that Kosygin will visit Turkey December 19-24.

Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry sends a note to the Indonesian Embassy "lodging a strong protest against the grave incident of the illegal detention of Chinese nationals by the Medan military authorities" on 10 October.

October 19: TANYUG Peking reports Red Guard demands in Sinkiang that Wang En-mao, Sinkiang First Secy, be burned alive and the Committee bombed for suppressing the CR in Sinkiang and cooperating with "rightist elements." It also describes new demonstrations and charges against the Peking City Committee.

East German Party daily NEUES DEUTSCHLAND comments that the main topic of talks and leaflets in Peking is the strike of 3,500 workers at Textile Enterprise No. 1 which started in mid-September and is still continuing. "The leaflets also report on actions against Mao troops."

October 19-20: Successive issues of HUNG WEI PING PAO (Red Guard Daily), "a paper intended largely for the Red Guards," as reported by TANYUG Peking, (a) declare that the U.S. will inevitably attack China,

(b) admit that there is no unity among the Red Guards but "crucial struggle between the two opposing lines in the CR."

October 20: AFP Peking adds Foreign Minister Chen Yi to the list of those attacked by the Red Guard posters. (Delhi Radio next day cites Japanese correspondents for the same information.)

October 22: A Chinese Foreign Ministry note to the Soviet Embassy protests the "unjustifiable decision unilaterally suspending the studies of all Chinese students in the Soviet Union and ordering them to leave" as "another grave incident worsening Sino-Soviet relations...."

"We want to warn the Soviet leadership: your evil action will certainly be opposed by the revolutionary students and the people as a whole of the Soviet Union and the whole world.... As Chairman Mao taught as, 'to be attacked by the enemy is not a bad thing, but a good thing!..."

"Let all monsters and demons tremble before our great proletarian cultural revolution and before the great Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought!"

October 23: NYTIMES reports from The Hague on the continuing Dutch cordon around the Chinese diplomatic house which shelters the eight Chinese technicians whom the police want to question about the July 17 death of the ninth delegate after he had been wounded in an apparent defection jump and then abducted by the Chinese from a Dutch hospital (#4).

LOS ANGELES TIMES reports from Moscow that, despite Soviet claims of the largest grain harvest in history, "there has been no loosening of curbs imposed three years ago on the distribution of flour": -- this year's Revolution holiday ration is no larger than last year's and none can be purchased outside the ration.

October 23-24: Thousands of Red Guards mass outside the Soviet Embassy in demonstrations keyed to the Soviet expulsion of Chinese students.

October 24: The Japanese CP opens its 10th Congress in Tokyo with a 3-hour CC report by SecyGen Miyamoto, who proposes that the JCP should help form a unified anti-imperialist front against American aggression in Vietnam while maintaining an independent line not inclined to the CPSU or the CCP. He claims that the JCP now numbers 300,000 members and that millions read AKAHATA. No foreign guests are mentioned: the Govt denied visas to those from ruling CPs. The CCP's message of greetings includes the gratuitous "Down with modern revisionism with the leadership of the CPSU as its center!"

NYTIMES reports from Santiago, Chile, on the decision of Rector Gonzales of 4,500-student Concepcion University to suspend activities' for the year as a result of a 42-day Communist-led strike for demands which included the removal of 15 Peace Corps teachers from the faculty.

UN correspondents report that, according to EE sources there, Hungarian Foreign Minister Janos Peter secretly visited Hanoi last month in a fruitless effort to reach agreement on the release of the 11 Americans held in North Vietnam.

7 November 1966

1070.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF
COMMUNIST CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION

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SITUATION: Communist China seems today a country gone berserk, its ordinary citizens caught up in a bewildering whirlpool of Red Guard terror and intimidation supported by the old men in Peking. Since August the Red Guard has acted as Mao's primary tool in the spreading of the cultural revolution, from the first attacks on the intellectuals, ancient traditions, religion, and the West to attacks on all things foreign and finally to the calculated weeding out of Chinese Communist Party officials whose revolutionary fervor did not measure up to Mao's fanatic devotion.

The first Red Guards were handpicked in July by Central Committee representatives from schools throughout the country where the purging of teachers had already taken place. As July moved into August and recruiting became less selective and more intensive, the Guard established branches in production brigades, schools, commercial departments, factories, etc., until by September their numbers were estimated at between eight and twelve million.

The most commonly held theory is that they were invented and at first controlled by the Central Committee of the CCP, with Mao Tse-tung and his heir-apparent Marshal Lin Piao pulling the strings. The Red Guard not only proved a less than perfect instrument for refurbishing Chinese Communism, it turned into a Frankenstein carrying out its assigned tasks with such unholy fervor that even Chairman Mao may have been taken aback. Significantly, the public rallies at the Gate of Heavenly Peace on 31 August and 15 September sought to incite the Guards to attack "those in the Party who are taking the capitalist road," but maintained that these were only a minority in the party. By early September word had filtered out of China regarding the assignment of leading officers of the Peoples' Liberation Army (PLA) to instruct, supervise and discipline the Guards. Other reports that the PLA had been used to quell Red Guard disturbances seeped through to watchers in Hong Kong; in one case at least the PLA had been called in by local officials unable to cope with the Guards. These efforts at restoring order and discipline - a belated attempt on the part of an aging dictator to consolidate his hold on 750 million Chinese and ensure his immortality

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(1070 Cont.)

in the person of a chosen successor - were too long delayed. By the beginning of September too many emotionally charged stories had reached the outside world of Red Guard excesses - their desecration of Buddhist temples, their eviction of eight frail nuns from China, their book burning and destruction of priceless art works from China's past, their beating of elderly citizens and frenzied attacks on foreigners and so on - a disgusting and terrifying list which the press is circulating to the far corners of the globe.

What is actually behind the cultural revolution - Mao's obsession with revisionist tendencies in China, or whatever - is less important today for our propaganda purposes than the electrifying effect the revolution is having on the outside world, and the growth of resistance to its excesses inside China. Rumors of fierce clashes between the Guards and anti-Guard elements, protest groups, anti-wall poster campaigns, suicides of prominent educators, scientists, and artists, have gradually added to our picture of resistance within China. One of the surest indicators of the changes being crammed down Chinese throats is the reduced living scales among Chinese diplomats and officials abroad. They have been ordered to master their weakness for bourgeois delights such as Mercedes automobiles and British gin and are now shoring up their resolve with pictures of Mao supplanting art treasures and replacing fashionable clothes and haircuts with the ubiquitous baggy trouser, simple dress and bowl haircut of yesteryear. Western diplomats and others have heard a certain amount of grumbling from the less tight-lipped Chinese because of their reduced salaries and newly-limited representational funds. It has been speculated that morale problems can be and are developing.

At the outset of the cultural revolution, it was to be expected that China's Asian neighbors would take notice of what was going on so close to their back yards and that anti-communist countries would immediately begin commenting on China's newest convulsion. However, as the purge widened to include traditional institutions, Moslem and Buddhist countries or groups representing them began their protests as did Western Europe and Latin America. Finally as the purge reached Chinese Communist Party officials and government officials and expanded to demote or remove CCP committees in local factories, educational institutions, etc., the communist world began to react. From communist party organs in Eastern and Western Europe, from Latin America, from the Near and Far East came rumblings, protests, criticism and even ridicule of the CCP and the Red Guard. Leading the communist hue and cry was the powerful central organ of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (see unclassified attachment for roundups of worldwide criticism from communist and non-communist countries). There have even been signs that the most sycophantic of Peking's erstwhile followers, the Albanians, are having second thoughts as may be the North Vietnamese (see Zorza article attached).

Further evidence of China's growing isolation was the lackluster turnout of foreign guests at China's National Day Celebrations on 1 October and the walkout of diplomats from seven communist countries when speechmaker Lin Piao tactlessly dragged out the dog-eared accusation that the USSR is conspiring with the US on Vietnam (see attachment). Bulgarian leader Zhivkov and Czech leader Novotny both condemned China on 9 September in speeches in Sofia; a well-known Yugoslavian writer and former diplomat pointed out that "China's political influence in international affairs has sunk to the lowest possible point." Major articles in Western European communist papers (see Press Comment for past month) rail at the CCP for setting back the advance of communism and completely excising Marx and Lenin from the revolutionary scene.

Two aspects of the cultural revolution are particularly disturbing to communists outside China. One of these is the spectacle of Communist party leaders being attacked by elements which stand, in effect, outside the party. Probably few East European and other apparatchiki would welcome a return to the purges of the Stalin era, but at least those purges were conducted within the framework of the party; adroit party officials could follow the changing party lines and attack whatever elements were newly tagged as "anti-party" and "deviationist." The party as such remained supreme. In today's China, on the other hand, the Red Guards, despite their official origin, seem to represent a force standing in fact outside the party; insofar as they are controlled from above, this control seems to come through the PLA and not through party cadres, and indeed the Guards have aimed many of their attacks at local and regional party headquarters. Both the mobilization of the army against the party and the mobilization of youth against old party officials are anathema to the other CPs.

The other aspect of the cultural revolution which disturbs communists is that there is no longer much pretext of following the doctrines of Marx and Lenin. Instead, this peculiar revolution concentrates on lauding the "thought of Chairman Mao." Mao's thoughts are claimed to work wonders in solving everyday problems, such as those of harvesting or the garment industry. Chicom indoctrination seems to aim at making "Mao say" replace the old stereotype of "Confucius say..." To communists outside the Middle Kingdom, this movement seems to resemble fascism more than communism. Like Mussolini, Mao (in Chicom propaganda) is "always right." Non-Chinese communists are concluding that, as Mussolini once said of fascism, the cultural revolution is "not an article for export." 25X1C10b

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1071.

FRONT ACTIVITIES: I.O.J. CONGRESS

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SITUATION: The Communist-front International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) held its 6th Congress in East Berlin, 10-15 October 1966, attended by more than 200 "delegates" from 42 countries. The IOJ is less important organizationally than the mass membership fronts in the fields of youth (WFDY), students (IUS), labor (WFTU), and women (WIDF). However, its more limited number of journalist adherents exert considerable influence on public opinion.

Available reports indicate that the Congress was carried off in a rather harmonious atmosphere, probably much more harmonious than any international front gathering in recent years. Ideological charges were directed at the West (principally the U.S. and West Germany), rather than at representatives of one or another brand of Communism. The reasons for the harmony at the Congress were that it was boycotted by the Chicoms and Albanians and that a Peking-based Indonesian delegation was refused admission.

Chicom Charges. In advance of the Congress, on 6 October, the All-China Journalists' Association declared its refusal to participate. The statement harshly condemned the IOJ as a Soviet-controlled, Soviet-manipulated instrument "tailing behind U.S. imperialism and its accomplices"; as violently opposed to the revolutionary struggle in Asia, Africa and Latin America; as helping to peddle U.S. imperialism's "peace talks" fraud; as preaching "united action" with U.S. imperialism against China; as pleading for cooperation with the (non-Communist) International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and begging for advisory status in UNESCO (labelling both organizations U.S. imperialist tools); and as attacking and undermining the anti-imperialist, revolutionary Afro-Asian as well as the All-China Journalists' Association. But capping these more worn-out charges, the statement also said that before the Congress, the IOJ had sent out its agents to undermine the unity among progressive journalists in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to instigate anti-Chinese moves. It also stated that, as regards the preparations for and the Congress itself, the IOJ Secretariat had barred the All-China Journalists' Association from access to relevant information and had failed to make available copies of the principal documents to be submitted to the Congress. Hence, the statement said, progressive journalists must draw a sharp line between themselves and the "capitulationist" and "splittist" Soviet clique in the IOJ and desist from "united

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action" with the IOJ. The Albanian press similarly accused the IOJ of attempting to cooperate with reactionary journalists of the IFJ and the revisionist League of Yugoslav Journalists, and claimed that its leadership, in particular its secretariat, were completely subordinated to the orders and dictates of the Union of Soviet Journalists.

Soviet Line Prevails at Congress. As charged by the Chicoms in advance, the Congress did adopt the official Soviet line on international political affairs. The IOJ President, Jean-Maurice Hermann, told the delegates that all the IOJ demands from its members with different ideologies is that "they be in agreement with our general principles, that they love and respect their profession, and practice it with full responsibility in the service of freedom, national independence for nations, and peace -- each in his own language and in his own way serving the common objective." In an oblique reference to the Sino-Soviet controversy the Secretary General, Jiri Meissner, stressed that "despite divisionist attempts" the IOJ had not only proved itself viable but had grown. He urged journalists to work for a lessening of tensions, but repeated Soviet propaganda charges, especially about "revanchism" in West Germany.

Vietnam Treatment Is "The Test." In a welcoming address to the delegates, the Premier of East Germany, Willi Stoph, said: "The attitude toward the U.S. war of aggression in Vietnam has become the test by which to judge every journalist." A general resolution on the "ethical principles of journalism" called upon journalists to use their media and opportunities to "smash the false arguments and faked information of the U.S. imperialists about the Vietnam problem" -- in other words, not to deviate from the Communist line. (Delegates witnessed a dramatic demonstration of Vietnam propaganda: The Congress was informed that the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Association of Patriotic and Democratic Journalists of South Vietnam had died and a moment of silence was observed for the "victim of a poison gas attack by the U.S.")

Appeal to Journalists in Emerging Countries. Secretary General Meissner called on journalists of newly-freed countries to mobilize their peoples for the fight to preserve national independence against the inroads of colonialism and neocolonialism. Naming U.S. imperialism as the principal force of aggression and war, he asked journalists to alert the public and stimulate the combination of all anti-imperialist elements for joint international action for a united front against imperialism. The task for journalists is to unmask all U.S. propaganda and that of other press organs seeking to camouflage aggressive designs and actions. He set the task for the IOJ of intensifying journalistic support for liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, South-West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Congo, and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea.

IOJ Reported to be Expanding. Meissner reported that the IOJ had grown into the largest international organization of journalists, now representing about 130,000 members throughout the world.* He claimed one third (about

*He had given similar organizational data in an interview carried by the East German news agency ADN on 20 September. Of course, a very high proportion of the membership is made up of journalists from Communist countries; according to a TASS item, the recent Congress of Soviet Journalists represented 43,000 journalists.

10,000) of all journalists in Latin America have been rallied in the IOJ, and announced that thirteen African journalistic organizations or trade unions belong to it. During the Congress twenty-two "new groups" of journalists were admitted (from Chile, Venezuela, Panama, Colombia, Uruguay, Guyana, Argentina, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Guinea, Gambia, Cameroon, Uganda, South-West Africa, the South African Republic, Mozambique, the UAR, Syria, India and Korea). The Congress made further overtures to journalists from developing countries by expressing support for "progressive" journalists in Africa and Asia. Efforts were also made to retain Cuban support by resolving to hold the next congress in Havana in 1970, and by urging Latin American journalists to join national liberation movements in line with Cuban policy. (Representatives of the Latin American solidarity organization and of the Afro-Asian Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Organization [and the Pan African Journalists' Federation] were present.) In addition, overtures were made for cooperation with the non-Communist IFJ. (Hermann: "We know that apart from the journalists who oppose all cooperation, there are in its ranks colleagues who fully share our views.")

IOJ Plans and Activities. Secretary General Meissner announced that the IOJ Executive Committee has a 3-year plan for promotion of press, radio and TV in developing countries. The USSR, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Hungary are in the forefront of IOJ efforts to give active support to national organizations in the training and education of journalists. The IOJ plans to form research groups with journalistic institutions to discuss technical progress in press, radio and TV.

"European Security." As host country, East Germany received specific affirmations of support. Meissner suggested attention be devoted to the question of West German access to atomic weapons and he called West Germany's "presumption to be sole representative of the German people" an aggressive concept which threatens European security. Safeguards for European security were described by the Secretary General as one of the most urgent contemporary needs. A Polish delegate discussed a proposal of the "socialist" states to convene a European Security Conference and he called on journalists from capitalist as well as "socialist" countries to meet their great responsibility in regard to such a conference. (The World Council of Peace, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, and the International Union of Students also have plans for a European Security Conference.)

Spoils for the Host. The East German press cast Walter Ulbricht as the star of a reception given for the delegates. Ulbricht welcomed the IOJ delegates with praise for their profession and quoted, "all intellectual struggles of modern times have been waged in millions of newspaper columns." In passing remarks Ulbricht strongly supported the Vietnamese struggle, but most of his speech was devoted to Germany.

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7 November 1966

1072 FE.

JAPAN'S ROLE IN ASIA
AND THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS



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SITUATION: On 6 December 1966, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) is scheduled to hold its biannual conference, the outcome of which can have a strong bearing on the continued life of Prime Minister Sato's moderate free-world oriented government. (General elections in Japan will be held in 1967). With 145 seats in the Diet's (parliament) powerful lower house the JSP has functioned as the core of the opposition to Sato's ruling Liberal Democratic Party's 283 member majority but the effectiveness of the JSP has from the beginning been severely corroded by factionalism.

At the JSP's January 1966 national convention an unusually severe confrontation between the ruling extreme left wing factions under Sasaki Kozo and the moderate factions under a number of leaders united the moderates in an uneasy truce which has survived despite intense personal and ideological frictions. Should the truce be continued in the hope of achieving collective power, the moderates could unhorse the hard-line Marxist Sasaki despite his advantage of being an "in"; working against him also is the problem of divisions among his backers although he was elected party chairman at the convention despite this problem.

At the moment the best hope for the moderate element appears to be a group of younger, bright JSP Diet members who have wearied of the role of perpetual opposition party. These men, having acquired a taste for power through the labor unions which support the JSP and which provided their original springboard for election to the Diet, now want to help rule the country. They are believed ready to take up the cudgels within the JSP for a form of peaceful coexistence (as opposed to the hard-liners' pro-Peking position); for the development of a Japanese defense force and some defense relationship with the U.S. (as opposed to the hard-liners' position of "unarmed neutrality" and total antagonism to Japan-U.S. defense arrangements); and for maneuvering independently of the Japan Communist Party (JCP) (as opposed to the hard-liners' enthusiasm for joint action with the JCP).

The moderates in the JSP are still Marxist-oriented, but their desire to wield significant power as a functioning part of the Japanese Government has forced the realization that they must accommodate to the new look in Japan to which Sato's government contributes - prosperity, trade expansion, participation in international affairs, and a growing awareness of

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purely Asian wants. Japan will probably continue on this course as long as her booming prosperity continues, but Sato's government could undoubtedly enlarge the scope of its international participation if the JSP moderates can get themselves into a position to support the government rather than oppose it.

The moderates' chances depend in great part on the nature of their support from Sohyo, Japan's most powerful trade confederation*, which furnishes most of the JSP funds, supplies most of its street demonstrators and half of its membership, and in 1963 decided the election of about one third of the JSP's 145 Diet representatives. Sohyo was born in 1950 when the country was still suffering the unavoidably hungry, sour aftermath of defeat and surrender. Despite the most benevolent occupation in man's history, Japan proved ready soil for the growth of communist elements and less than a year after its organization Sohyo was uncompromisingly Marxist-oriented and heavily communist-penetrated. Sohyo's stormy history has reflected Japan's economic progress, and has seen-sawed back and forth between the extremism of its Marxist-inspired beginnings and the moderation brought about by Japan's phenomenal economic growth. In the early '60's Sohyo's leadership began to doubt the wisdom of supporting the JCP; it cut off close relations and joint political action with the JCP and moved towards the JSP. Except for a brief flurry among the extremist elements of Sohyo in 1964-65 (brought on by an economic recession, rising prices and the Vietnam war) Sohyo's leadership appears to have concluded that the unions are better off concentrating on economic rather than political issues. This trend was reflected in Sohyo's action program for 1966 which is heavily weighted towards the economic side and urges cooperation with moderate unions during "wage struggles." Internationally, Sohyo has adopted "positive neutrality" as its program and increasing numbers of its affiliates are joining the ICFTU** rather than the WFTU***; some affiliates have also joined a political western-oriented international trade secretariats such as the International Metal Workers Federation, the Japanese branch of which numbers 300,000 members.

Other significant political forces in Japan are the Soka Gakkai and Domei, Japan's second largest labor confederation. Domei was formed when Japan's post war miseries were a hazy memory and Japan's burgeoning and healthy economy influenced its development towards domestic moderation and international expansion. Domei has affiliated with international trade secretariats and free trade unions all over the world widening the horizons of Japan's labor movement and encouraging active relations with labor organizations abroad. Although Domei is half Sohyo's size, it is growing much faster despite its fight against further unification of the Japanese labor movement. This fight is partly based on Domei's fear of being overwhelmed by Sohyo. Although Domei generally avoids political action in

*General Council of Trade Unions in Japan; 4,200,000 members.

**International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (the free world international labor organization)

***World Federation of Trade Unions (international communist front labor organization)

favor of economic initiatives, it does support the Democratic Socialist Party which broke away from the JSP in 1960. Domei has gone so far as to furnish medical supplies and clothing to South Vietnam not because it supports the west's position in Vietnam but because it is more critical of communist subversion in Vietnam than of U.S. military activities. It appears that if Japan's economy remains healthy, Domei will continue to be a friend of the free world.

Soka Gakkai, the much-publicized militant lay Buddhist organization of Japan has risen from obscurity to national political prominence in Japan over the past decade. Its religious intolerance, its authoritarian structure, and its assertion that the world's problems can be solved if everyone embraces its branch of Buddhism (the orthodox Nichiren dogma), are expected to limit its eventual appeal, and its growth rate has slowed up since 1959. Soka Gakkai has a young and vigorous leadership which has recognized that political and economic factors are paramount with the majority of the populations of technically advanced nations like Japan; in 1964 this leadership established a full-fledged political party, the Komeito (Clean Government Party), which has addressed itself to those political and economic factors. Komeito won 13.7% of the votes (over five million) for the House of Councillors (the Upper House of the Japanese Diet) in the July 1965 elections, and for the first time will field candidates in forthcoming elections for the House of Representatives (the important Lower House). All political observers, including the rival parties, concede that Komeito will enter the Lower House; if it displaces the middle-of-the-road Democratic Socialist Party for third place there, as it has already done in the Upper House, Komeito will command the swing vote in the Diet. Despite its exaggerated claims to membership and the decline in its growth rate, the Soka Gakkai is a major political factor with which both conservatives and leftists must reckon since it can bargain for concessions by offering its support to one side or the other. It is generally characterized by political observers as an enigmatic, troublesome object in the Japanese body politic.

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7 November 1966

1073 WH.

THE LATIN AMERICAN

FREE TRADE ASSOCIATION -- LAFTA

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SITUATION: Why Economic Integration? The need for economic integration was first formally proclaimed by the United Nations Commission for Latin America in 1949, although it had been the dream of a few far-sighted Latin Americans since the days of Simon Bolivar. However, the absolute necessity of it became increasingly evident after the middle of the 1950's, when per capita income began to fall as a consequence of the explosive population growth rate which surpassed the economic growth rate. Also during the late 1950's, Latin America's export revenue began to drop alarmingly as a result of falling commodity prices. Another compelling reason was the creation of vast trading areas elsewhere in the world -- the Communist bloc, the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Free Trade Area (EFTA) -- which forced small, independent markets outside these agglomerations to unite into new economic blocs or face continuously weakening trading positions. The success of the EEC undoubtedly also had a profound influence on Latin statesmen. Although there are obvious, wide differences between Europe and Latin America, the concrete example of an integrating regional market showed that uniting independent economies was a practical possibility. The final and conclusive reason for embarking on economic integration was that there was really no alternative: continuing the status quo ante could only have led to growing poverty, famine, and revolution.

The fundamental reason for the continent's having arrived at this state was a series of tariff barriers erected around the separate countries of Latin America which frequently reached 300%. These barriers had grown for several reasons. The countries of South America have traditionally had only limited relations among themselves due partly to the geography of the continent -- divided by the Andes mountains and the vast undeveloped Amazon basin -- and due also to the heritage of the ancient Spanish colonial empire which (because of Madrid's suspicions against her ambitious Governors and Viceroyes) had been based on direct dealings between the separate colonies and Spain, with little inter-relation between the colonies. Added to this, foreign currency shortages had tended to foster the local manufacture of goods which couldn't be brought abroad. Tariff barriers also served to foster development of "prestige" industries: "every self-respecting country should have a steel industry." Another contributing factor was the oligarchical nature of most Latin American industry, which had no desire to face foreign competition and which had the political power to limit or prevent competition by imposing tariffs.

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The result was high cost production; and the unnecessary burden increased as foreign manufacturers were able to reduce their prices as a result of larger and larger scale production. The relatively small size of the national markets of the Latin American countries simply does not permit separate production on an economical scale in today's world.

The CACM and LAFTA

The states of Central America realized the necessity of economic union as early as 1958, when a Multilateral Treaty on Free Trade and Central American Economic Integration was signed; this subsequently developed into the Central American Common Market (CACM), which was discussed in EPG Item #1019, of 9 May 1966.

In 1960, seven countries of South America agreed to work toward the creation of a free trade area as a means of speeding their economic development. Their efforts resulted in the Treaty of Montevideo which created a new organization, the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). Its goal is the creation of a broad, multinational market which would encourage investment in new industry, provide jobs for their rapidly expanding populations, and introduce the benefits of industrial specialization and mass production. The treaty was ratified in 1961 by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Colombia and Ecuador. In 1966 Venezuela also decided to join, and Bolivia is considering joining. The treaty envisaged the gradual elimination of internal tariffs (that is, tariffs between the member nations) over a 12 year period.

Since its inception LAFTA has made significant gains. Through a series of annual bargaining sessions, tariffs on more than 9,000 products have been reduced or eliminated. Intra-LAFTA trade has increased about 120 percent, although such trade represents only about 12 percent (up from 7 percent in 1961) of the total international trade of the area.

The process of tariff reduction has proved to be difficult. So disparate are the tariff structures of the member nations that across-the-board reductions have been impossible, thus necessitating tedious multi-lateral negotiations on individual items. And the negotiations have steadily grown more difficult as the readily-eliminated tariffs have been taken care of and the discussions move onto tougher items. Progress in 1965, after only minimal concessions in 1963 and 1964, was heartening. The most recent negotiating session convened in Montevideo on 24 October 1966. It is expected to last until 2 December and will be followed by a meeting of the foreign ministers of the LAFTA nations, who are supposed to ratify a new economic integration schedule and work out a general agreement on transportation, the pooling of human resources, and the use of arbitration in trade disputes.

Beyond LAFTA

Although LAFTA has made significant gains, Latin American leaders have indicated a growing realization that Latin America needs more than just a free trade area, and the goal which is now being discussed is a Latin American Common Market, the chief additional features of which might be automatic tariff reductions, common external tariffs and co-ordinated domestic economic policies. Also being studied are various multi-national development projects within the area, designed to contribute to true economic integration. The projects would include such undertakings as development of the major river basins for flood control, irrigation, and power, the building of major road links to open up isolated areas and to provide transportation between the various countries, and the improvement of communications systems. The LA Common Market envisages the eventual union of LAFTA and the CACM.

These plans were the outgrowth of an appeal by President Eduardo Frei of Chile to four of Latin America's most distinguished economists in January 1965 for ideas to hasten economic development in the continent. The result was a report sent by the four economists to the presidents of all Latin American countries in April 1965 entitled "Proposals for the Creation of a Latin American Common Market." The report was subsequently endorsed by the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) in a report prepared by that group in August 1965 for the presidents of the AFP countries. Economic integration was given a further boost at a meeting of some 400 business leaders from Latin America and the United States in Mexico City in June 1966. The meeting, sponsored by the Inter-American Council for Commerce and Production, adopted a resolution pledging the businessmen to work closely with their governments in furthering and hastening the work of LAFTA. In August 1966, high-level representatives of Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela met in Bogota, Colombia to discuss possible steps for greater economic cooperation. Among the cardinal points of "The Declaration of Bogota," as the conclusions of the meeting were titled, was an outline of steps to be taken to reinforce the structure of LAFTA and to move it toward eventual union with the CACM to form a Common Market for all Latin America. Equal stress was given to economic integration by President Johnson in a speech commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress on 17 August 1966. Mentioning the forthcoming meeting of the presidents of the American republics, President Johnson stated that the first item on the agenda will be economic integration of Latin America.

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An unclassified attachment to this guidance describes the development of LAFTA in more detail.

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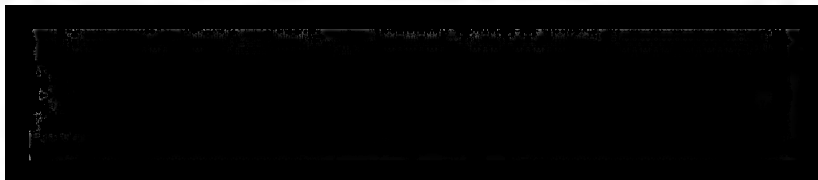
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SOVIET YOUTH:

A Different Set of Problems

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SITUATION: Far from being immune from youth problems, Soviet leaders are faced with a wide range of attitudes and problems which have lingered and grown as insufficient attention was paid to remedying them. Soviet propaganda is striking hard at the Red Guards, evidently hoping to convince their own youth that conditions in the USSR are favorable. Soviet youth, in their present disaffected mood, are unlikely to be convinced by mere rhetoric. Nor do there appear to be other easy methods open to the Soviets to cope with their youth problems. Probably to be on the safe side, the Soviets have recently tightened up their legal and police machinery in order to stem the more radical manifestations of disaffection amongst their youth.

The Red Guard Movement in Communist China is in all major respects radically different from youth organizations in the USSR and the East European satellites. The 8 to 12-million strong Red Guards were brought into being independent of all prior existing organizations; amongst the youth of the Soviet Bloc there has been no new officially sponsored organization or movement. The CPC-sponsored Young Communist League with 40 million members has played no observable role in Mao's "cultural revolution;" the USSR's Komsomol,* also an adjunct of the CP, continues to act as spokesman and guiding spirit not only for its 23 million members but for all Soviet youth. The Red Guards' activities, as described in BPG item #1070, are militantly opposed to vestiges of the past and appear to be taking sides in the ChiComs' current political struggle. On the other hand, the official Soviet youth activities aim to stimulate reverence for the older generation and unqualified support for the CPSU.

Probably the leading medium in the Soviets' assault on the Chicom Red Guards is KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (KOMSOMOL TRUTH), the official newspaper of the Komsomol. The pages of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA have been crammed with

*sometimes referred to as the Young Communist League (YCL) or the Communist Youth League.

articles falling into 3 categories: a series of Red Guard activities or tactics such as "big character" posters and the "black list" of enemies of Mao; quotations from the Chicom Press, usually without comment; and observations by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporters of typical events. One obvious aim of the articles is to ridicule the Red Guards and the "cultural revolution." Implicit in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's treatment of the Red Guards is an exhortation to Soviet youth to realize that they live well and have a bright future in the USSR, not only relative to the situation in Communist China but also when compared with the Stalin era.

This opinion-shaping effort dovetails neatly with KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's year-old campaign to stress the patriotic education of Soviet youth. Pavlov, chief of the Komsomol, has sparked this effort, aimed largely at getting the youth to appreciate the older generation for its contributions to economic development and their wartime achievements. (One method is to get Komsomol units to build or restore monuments to war heroes). In addition, the Red Army and the police have joined forces with the Komsomol in an effort to steer Soviet youth away from foreign and liberal influences.

No matter how hard or skillfully KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA uses the Red Guard developments, however, Soviet youth is most unlikely to respond favorably to the regime's suggestions. For in the USSR, as in several Satellite countries, there is long-accumulating evidence that the negative attitudes of today's youth pose an enormous barrier between them and the wielders of power and control. Among the prevalent attitudes are distrust, boredom, indifference, and self-indulgence. The causes of these attitudes include: the contradictions between the lofty-sounding communist principles preached in school and by the Komsomol and the depths to which communist reality has actually sunk; unresolved conflicts between generations (see attached gist of magazine story); the stifling controls imposed on youth, especially through the Komsomol which is dominated by a small group of CP-appointed officials; the continuing shortages of quality consumer goods; the restriction in openings for advancement in political, economic, scientific and military spheres indicated by the rising average age of top Soviet officials; the effects of the double graduating class from intermediate schools in 1966 (viz., the sharp reduction of the percentage of graduates going on to higher educational institutions and the high percentage of graduates who are unemployed or underemployed: see BPG item #1018, "Employment Problems in the USSR"); the indecisiveness pervading Soviet society because of the present leaders' slowness in resolving questions of political and economic policy; the regime's attempts to insulate Soviet youth from Western contacts and influences; and the throttling of free expression, as most starkly evidenced by the Sinyavsky-Daniel case. Indeed, the oppressive intellectual environment and the inept efforts of the Soviet leadership to control Soviet youth has led some groups in the USSR to express their disenchantment. The SMOG initials for "Youngest Society Of Geniuses" and for the motto of the society: Boldness, Thought, Image, Profundity) has been mentioned widely in the Western press, and its

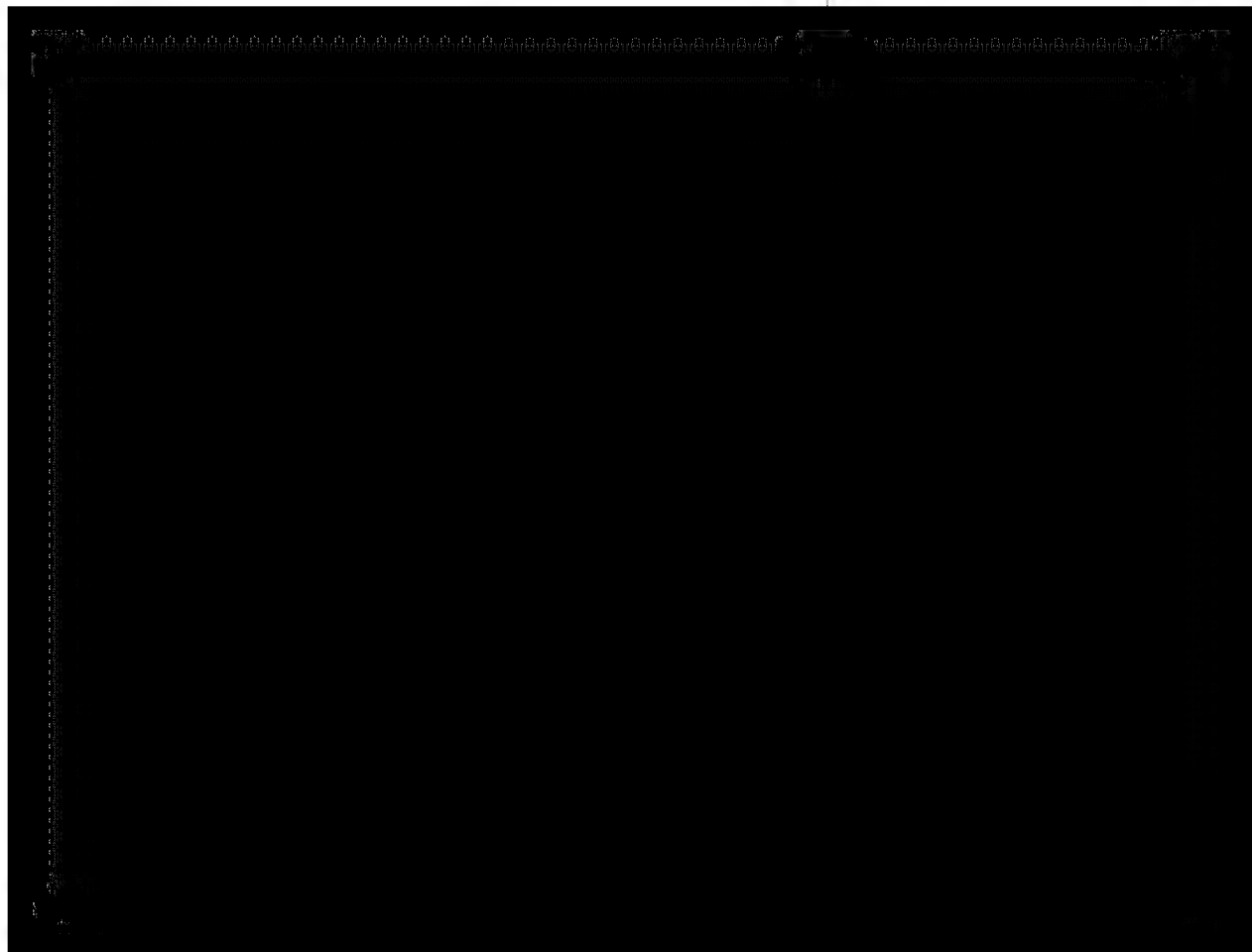
rejection of Soviet society has been discussed openly by Valery Tarsis. In addition, University of Leningrad students have published a secret journal, "Kolokol" (The Bell), which is a clear indication that some Soviet youths prefer to pattern their philosophy after that of Alexander Herzen, the emigre radical who smuggled the original radical "Kolokol" into Russia in the mid-1800's.

The severity of the USSR's youth problems is clear from the speeches of Komsomol boss Pavlov (see attached) and the contents of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Although they make feeble efforts to blame bourgeois propaganda and foreign influences for the unsatisfactory state of Soviet youth, the Komsomol leaders paint such a broad array of grinding problems that it is evident that the disaffection has roots in the Soviet environment.

The Soviets' prospects for solving their youth problems appear to be slight. The Komsomol cannot be counted on because it is not respected, due to overdoses of control and a failure to stimulate its members. (As far back as 1958 Khrushchev addressed himself to the frequent complaint that young people were bored in the Komsomol.) The main measures undertaken recently by the Soviets are in the field of detecting and treating crime and hooliganism,* as decreed in July 1966. A subsequent decree of 16 September has added three new crimes: spreading deliberately false fabrications harmful to the state and social order; defacing the national emblem or flag; and the organization or participation in group actions which violate the public order. (See accompanying BN). Thus, Soviet legal measures not only tend to bear out the existence of severe youth problems on a wide scale, but also reveal that the Soviet regime's response is increasingly negative.

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*In Soviet parlance hooliganism is a catch-all term extensively used to cover a multitude of violations against the Soviet-defined social order:



Reference

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El Nacional-Caracas, Viernes 9 de Setiembre de 1966

104 VIVIENDAS Y 107 PENSIONES Con el Dinero de Beltramini

La comisión que presidía el Dr. Gustavo H. Machado resolvió favorablemente 218 casos con Bs. 1.476.000

El Ministro del Interior, Gonzalo Barrios, con los miembros de la comisión: Pablo Herrera Campins, Gustavo H. Machado, María Eugenia de Álvarez y Coronel Jesús María León, quien representó al General Carlos Soto Tamayo. (Foto Bottaro).

El Ministro del Interior, doctor Gonzalo Barrios, almorzó ayer con los miembros de la comisión que hizo uso del dinero incautado a Beltramini en favor de familias damnificadas por el terrorismo político.

Fue éste un agasajo y un reconocimiento a la actividad desarrollada por la comisión, que actuó con carácter adhonorem y estuvo integrada por las siguientes personas: Dr. Gustavo H. Machado, quien la presidió; General Carlos

Soto Tamayo, Doña María Eugenia Álvarez, Dr. Pablo Herrera Campins y Dr. Enrique Padilla Ron.

En el almuerzo estuvieron presentes también el coronel Jesús María León, en representación del General Carlos Soto Tamayo, quien se encuentra en el exterior; el señor Luis Vera, Director General del MRI; el Dr. Faustino Pulgar Gruber, Director de Política, y el secretario privado del Ministro, señor Hernando Brito.

La comisión resolvió favorablemente 218 casos de ayudas a víctimas y familiares de los fallecidos a consecuencia de la violencia extrema.

Se distribuyeron 1.476.000 bolívares, que es el equivalente en dólares incautados a los grupos extremistas por haberlos introducido al país, por medio de Beltramini, para financiar actos de violencia y terrorismo.

Con estos fondos la comisión otorgó 60 viviendas rurales, 24 viviendas urbanas construidas por el Banco Obrero; concedió 107 pensiones, canceló saldos pendientes por viviendas e hizo 25 donaciones en efectivo.

El Dr. Machado explicó que se trató de no dar dinero en efectivo, porque se corría el riesgo de que lo gastaran en una forma que no es la más conveniente.

New York Times, 17 September 1966

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SOVIET DENOUNCES CHINA'S RED GUARD

Pravda Warns of Plans to
Spread Dogmatic Policy
to Other Countries

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By PETER GROSE

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Sept. 16—The So-

viet Communists warned today that the Red Guards of Communist China were intent on spreading their extreme and dogmatic theories of Communism outside China's borders.

Pravda, the Communist party newspaper, gave its readers a detailed and candid account of vandalism and civil strife in cities across China. The report, more than three columns long inside the paper, was credited to Pravda's correspondent in Peking.

To Soviet readers the language used to describe China's political turmoil was alarming and ominous. After citing many incidents of violence, the article asked editorially:

"In the name of what was it found necessary in China to take over the functions of the legal organs of the people's power, to violate the Constitution and the elementary principles of law?

Export Aims Reported

"What is behind the calls to carry through a 'far-reaching reform of our Socialist system'?" Pravda asked.

The reporter went on: "The Red Guards' now declare that they are intent on spreading the 'cultural revolution' beyond China." He said the Chinese press "most seriously" printed a

Red Guard statement that "we are not only stirring up a revolutionary storm in China, we shall also spread it all over the world."

"The same view," Pravda said, "was reiterated recently by Chen Yi, the Chinese Foreign Minister."

Whether these statements were in fact made "most

less significant than the fact that the Soviet Communist party reported them, seemingly taking them at face value.

The Pravda article did not speculate about where outside China the Red Guards' theories might be applied. Obviously implied, however, were Vietnam and other Asian and Latin-American nations where the Chinese Communists are trying to undercut Soviet influence in revolutionary movements.

Long silent on Chinese affairs, the Soviet press has recently become more graphic

about unrest and violence in China than many Western papers. The almost daily reports are usually in a seemingly objective style without commentaries, but the selection of facts speaks for itself to Soviet readers.

Party Attacks Cited

Pravda said:

"A characteristic feature of the present activity of the Red Guards is the ever sharper attacks on Communist party committees at factories; school, city and provincial and party functionaries and government officials."

Since for Soviet readers attacks on Communist party officials mean attacks on leading elements of the population, the paper asked: "Why is the 'proletarian' movement going on without any participation by the working class?"

Pravda then gave detailed accounts of brutality and torture.

"The Red Guards beat up a worker because he happened to be in a room where they found a portrait of Mao Tse-tung with a crack in the frame," it said.

"They beat people with sticks, rifle butts, belts, chairs and electric wires. One man was tortured a whole night. When he lost consciousness they poured cold water over him and kept torturing him until he died."

Violence by Guards Reported

The Pravda correspondent wrote: "The Chinese press reports that 'a new advance of the great proletarian cultural revolution has begun'. This 'new advance' is associated with the 'Red Guards' widening their activities not only in Peking but also in other cities. The newspapers call them 'shock detachments' and the 'fearless

"In Shanghai a detachment of Red Guards that arrived from Peking 'to exchange experience' and local Red Guards broke into the building housing the Shanghai city committee of the Communist party and occupied it. Some of them climbed on the roof and began to throw rocks at people assembled around the building, others hurled fragments of glass and wounded several people.

"The Red Guards ran amuck a whole night; they shouted and made wild noises and insulted workers, calling them 'hooligans' and people who have 'neither shame nor conscience.' This aroused protests from the population.

Effect on Economy Cited

"It is not accidental that the reports of attacks by the Red Guards on party committees received frequent mention. It is reported in the press that the cultural revolution, designed 'to stir the minds of the people,' is now affecting politics and the economy. The 'main targets' are men 'vested with power who wormed their way into the party and engaged in anti-socialist activity.' The Chinese press names many party functionaries accused of such activity."

Continuing with an example, the Pravda reporter wrote: "Lu Tao, secretary of the party organization and assistant director of the party school in Fukien Province was accused of opposing the people's communes and favoring an alliance with the Soviet Communist party and the Soviet Union and the establishment of a united front of the anti-imperialist forces."

Such a "united front" has been the Kremlin's chief slogan in its attempts to forge a new unity of the world Communist movement. The party leadership in Peking has consistently rejected this call and has denounced Soviet appeals for unity of action as fraudulent.

China May Wind Up All Alone in World

CPYRGHT

Albania and North Vietnam Seen Slipping Away From Peking

CPYRGHT

By Victor Zorza
Manchester Guardian

LONDON — Even Peking's

closest and hitherto most reliable ally, Albania, is looking askance at China's "great cultural revolution."

For Peking, deserted already by such independent-minded allies, as the Korean and Japanese Communist Parties, this may be the end of its dream of building up an anti-Soviet Communist "international." The Chinese press is making desperate attempts to hide from its readers Albania's incipient rebellion against Peking.

Always in the past the Albanian press has published authoritative and extensive commentaries on major Chinese policy initiatives, praising to the skies the wisdom, courage, and the ideological purity displayed by the Chinese leaders. Always the Chinese press has republished these panegyrics.

The space devoted by the Chinese press to Albania's economic and cultural achievements, and to the political statements of its leaders, is much greater than the space it gives to all the other European countries.

Press Raises Tough Problem

The controllers of the Chinese press were therefore faced with a problem when they found that the Albanian papers were not printing the customary articles in praise of the Great Cultural Revolution. The politically sophisticated part of the Chinese public would immediately conclude that the failure of the Peking press to reproduce such Albanian articles meant that the Albanian leaders did not approve.

Orders apparently went out post-haste to the correspondents of the New China news agency in Albania to provide

the customary Albanian panegyrics of praise. They did—but they could only quote some unim-

portant youth leaders and minor Party officials from the provinces.

After a long official silence, speeches by Albanian Party leaders at the recent session of their "parliament" did refer to the Chinese developments of recent months, but in a way that was clearly calculated to dissociate Albania from Peking's internal policies, and particularly from any approval for the young Red Guards. Peking must have understood that the speeches were intended as a rebuke, for it did not

News Analysis

accord to them the publicity it usually gives to the policy statements of the Albanian leaders.

Tirana still seems to toe the Chinese line on questions of foreign policy. But the careful Albanian handling of the cultural revolution and the Red Guards is a visible indication of Tirana's misgivings about other Chinese policies.

Just how important to Peking is approving press comment on the cultural revolution is shown by the use the Chinese press made last month of an article in a Hanoi paper, The Bao Tan Viet Hoa. The Vietnamese Communists have shown considerable reserve for some time past about praising the leaders of China and their policies.

Now, however, the Chinese papers were able to give the lie to anybody who claimed that this reserve was politically significant.

They quoted the Hanoi paper as saying that the revolution was the most thoroughgoing ideological revolution in the history of mankind, and that it would "enrich the treasurehouse of revolutionary

theory of the world proletariat."

In Communist parlance, no

praise could have been higher. The Hanoi article went on to pay tribute personally to Mao Tse-tung, "the most gifted and most distinguished Marxist-Leninist fighter of our time . . . whose writings transcend national boundaries," although for some time before that the Vietnamese press had carefully avoided any such acknowledgement of the applicability of Mao's theories to Vietnam.

Not a Viet Paper

The article, which also contained the most outspoken condemnation of "revisionism" to appear for a long time in Hanoi, was reported by the official Chinese news agency under an unambiguous heading: "Vietnamese Paper pays Tribute to Mao Tse-tung's thought."

But it was not a "Vietnamese" paper. Its name is Bao Tan Viet Hoa, which means, in Vietnamese, "the New Vietnam Chinese Paper." It is published by the Federation of Chinese Residents in Vietnam, and is to all intents and purposes a Chinese newspaper.

The use made of it by the Peking press, far from indicating Hanoi's approval of Chinese policies, serves merely to show that Peking could find no genuine Vietnamese comment along these lines.

And when both Albania and North Vietnam finally desert their Chinese ally as, to judge from these signs, they are now preparing to do, the Chinese Communist Party will be left to face the Russians on its own.

The chances are that, sooner or later, the Russians will stare the Chinese down.

Time, October 7, 1966

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RED CHINA

Sun God's Anniversary

For days, workmen had been hustling to decorate Peking's Gate of Heavenly Peace, scene of Red China's monster rallies. Up around the square went pictures of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. On the façade of the gate towers went huge pictures of sunflowers bending to the sun, symbolic of the world's people being drawn to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. And on the north wall, dwarfing all the other portraits, was a tinted image of the sun god himself, Mao.

Everything was in place last week for National Day—the 17th anniversary of the founding of Red China. Three million Chinese crowded into the vast square as Mao and his lieutenants filed onto the reviewing stand to the martial strains of *The East Is Red*. Sinologists studied the standing order for clues as to who was up and who was down in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But the order seemed unchanged from last month's rallies: Defense Minister Lin Piao was ranked No. 2, Premier Chou En-lai No. 3. There was, however, one surprise: Madame Sun Yat-sen, the widow of the founder of the Chinese Republic, who has been denounced by the Red Guards as not being revolutionary enough, was on the stand in a place of honor. Apparently Mao felt that the prestige of her famed husband was still of some patriotic usefulness to Red China.

Soviet Walkout. Though some Red Guards had clamored for Mao himself to speak on National Day, he remained silent. Instead, Lin Piao once again talked for him. Lin lauded China's eco-

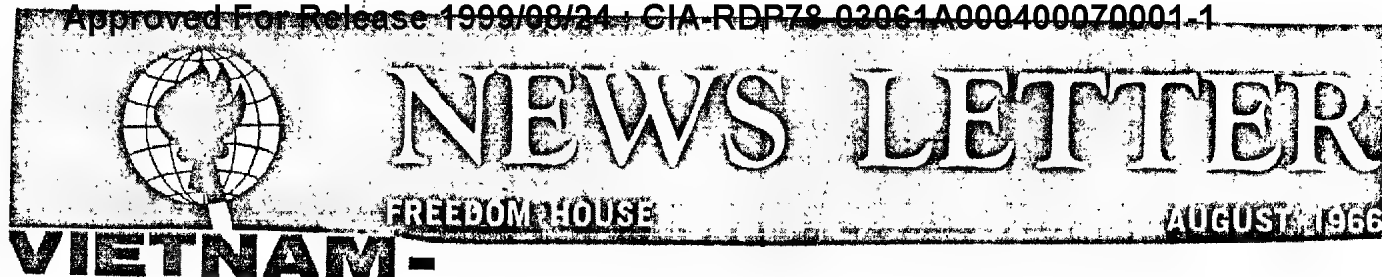
nomie situation ("prosperous and full of vigor"), described the world climate as "excellent" for revolution, and called the U.S. and U.S.S.R. conspirators in "plotting peace swindles for stamping out the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle." As a result, the diplomats from the Soviet Union and six other Communist countries walked out of the celebration. As an added irony, the official news agency on the eve of the celebration derided the Johnson Administration for being "more isolated than ever before." The propagandists were, in fact, un-

wittingly describing Red China's own plight. Not one foreign head of state attended the celebration, and the greetings sent from other capitals were decidedly frosty and reserved.

After the speeches, Mao rose to wave to the 1,500,000 marchers who began filing through the square. First came soldiers, then wave after wave of Red Guards, some carrying volumes of Mao's works. As part of the celebration, Peking released a color film of China's three nuclear explosions. The Chinese achievement, said the narrator, would "smash the nuclear blackmail" of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. The credit for the blasts went, of course, to Mao, whose thought "armed" the Chinese nuclear scientists.

Auto Pretension. If Peking could be believed, Mao's thought could, in fact, do just about anything—even provide the inspiration for the design of a new automobile. According to a Peking report, six "pacesetters" in an auto factory in Changchun, 350 miles northeast of Peking, testified that they "started from scratch" to produce a new car, with Mao's thought as the "guiding principle." What they aspired to, they proudly proclaimed, "was proletarian art, not an imitation of foreign models."

The result was the 1966 Red Flag sedan. Official pictures last week showed a good-looking sedan with crisp Italianate lines, plenty of chrome trim and white sidewall tires. In fact, the car that Mao inspired appeared strikingly similar to the Peugeot 404, which has been in production for six years.



VIETNAM-

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"AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE"

The opposition to the United States' defense of while remaining silent on Communist "plastique," South Vietnam's independence has often skirted if they prefer deliberate murder of civilians in the borderline of irrationality. Now, with the formation of an "international war crimes tribunal" to "try" the President of the United States, one group of those opponents has crossed that line and is deep in the swamps on the other side.

This excursion could be dismissed as beneath notice, except that it carries such names as Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre and A. J. Muste. These gentlemen, having failed to induce President Johnson to abandon the people of South Vietnam to the Communists, will now try to prove that the President and his principal aides are criminals.

One sample of the brand of justice this "tribunal" believes in was indicated by Lord Russell's representative. According to the *New York Times*, he said the "judges" had already reached their verdict of guilty, but they would now evaluate the evidence impartially.

Under the canons of freedom governing the world in which these gentlemen live—and are careful not to leave—such fanaticism is protected from repression. But it has no immunity from reasoned answer by believers in genuine freedom.

If Lord Russell and his fellow-attorneys for the Vietcong choose to denounce American napalm

One man has called them to account. He is Massimo Salvadori, Dwight Morrow Professor of History at Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts. Professor Salvadori is well prepared for this task. Actively involved in the struggle against Mussolini's Fascism in Italy from 1923 on, he was wounded by the Fascists in 1924. He carried on the fight from exile in Switzerland, then returned in 1929 to join other democratic forces resisting Mussolini. Both in his organizational work and his writings, he has been one of the free world's staunchest opponents of totalitarianism, and one of its best informed.

Professor Salvadori has made a rational man's reply to the irrational charges of Lord Russell. In the interest of sane debate and the defense of truth in the marketplace of ideas, Freedom House is publishing pertinent excerpts from the Russell accusations together with Professor Salvadori's point-by-point refutation.

Public Affairs Committee
of Freedom House

THE ACCUSATION

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400070001-1
A Public Appeal from Bertrand Russell

"I appeal to you, citizens of America, as a person concerned with liberty and social justice. Many of you will feel that your country has served these ideals and, indeed, the United States possesses a revolutionary tradition which, in its origins, was true to the struggle for human liberty and for social equality. It is this tradition which has been traduced by the few who rule the United States today. . . .

"The truth is that the Vietnamese popular resistance is just like the American revolutionary resistance to the British, who controlled the economic and political life of the American colonies in the eighteenth century. Vietnamese resistance is like the resistance of the French Maquis, the Yugoslav partisans and the guerrillas of Norway and Denmark to the Nazi occupation. That is why a small peasant people is able to hold down a vast army of the most powerful industrial nation on earth.

"I appeal to you to consider what has been done to the people of Vietnam by the United States Government. Can you, in your hearts, justify the use of poison chemicals and gas, the saturation bombing of the entire country with jelly-gasoline and phosphorus? Although the American Press lies about this, the documentary evidence concerning the nature of these gases and chemicals is overwhelming. . . .

"When the United States began its war against the Vietnamese, after having paid for all of the French war against the same people, the U. S. Defence Department owned property valued at 160 billion dollars. This value has since doubled. The U. S. Defence Department is the world's largest organisation, owning 32 million acres in the United States and millions more in foreign countries. By now, more than 75 cents out of every hundred are spent on present wars and preparation for future war. Billions of dollars are placed in the pockets of the U. S. military, thereby giving the Pentagon economic power affecting every facet of American life. . . .

"It is this concentration of power which makes it necessary for the Pentagon and big industry to continue the arms race for its own sake. The sub-contracts they award to smaller industries and war contractors involve every American city and, thus, affect the jobs of millions of people. Four million work for the Defence Department. Its payroll is twelve billion dollars, twice that of the U. S. automobile industry. A further four million work directly in arms industries. In many cities military production accounts for as much as 80 percent of all manufacturing jobs. Over 50 percent of the gross national product of the United States is devoted to military spending. . . .

"Yet, despite the immense wealth of the United States, despite the fact that with only six percent of the world's people, approaching two-thirds of the world's resources are in its possession, despite the control over the world's oil, cobalt, tungsten, iron ore, rubber and other vital resources, despite the vast billions of profit that are gained by a few American corporations at the cost of mass starvation amongst the peoples of the world, despite all this, 66 million Americans live at poverty level. The cities of America are covered in slums. The poor carry the burden of taxation and the fighting of colonial and aggressive wars. I am asking all of you to make an intellectual connection between events which occur daily around you, to try to see clearly the system which has taken control of the United States and perverted its institutional life into a grotesque arsenal for a world empire. It is the vast military machine, the great industrial combines and their intelligence agencies which are regarded by the peoples of three whole continents as their main enemy in life and the source of their misery and hunger. If we examine the governments which depend for their existence upon American military force, we shall always find regimes which support the rich, the landlords and the big capitalists. This is true in Brazil, in Peru, in Venezuela, in Thailand, in South Korea, in Japan. It is true the world over.

"The result of this is that in order to suppress a national revolution, such as the great historic uprising of the Vietnamese people, the United States is obliged to behave as the Japanese behaved in Southeast Asia and the Nazis behaved in Eastern Europe. It is true that the Nazis systematically exterminated the Jews and the United States has not yet done anything comparable in Vietnam. With the exception of the

extermination of the Jews, however, everything that the Germans did in Eastern Europe has been repeated by the United States in Vietnam on a scale which is larger and with an efficiency which is more terrible and more complete.

"In violation of solemn international agreements signed by American Presidents and ratified by the American Congress, this Johnson Government has committed war crimes, crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace. It has committed these crimes because the Johnson Government exists to preserve the economic exploitation and the military domination of subject peoples by U. S. industrial magnates and their military arm. The Central Intelligence Agency, which has a budget fifteen times larger than all the diplomatic activity of the United States, is involved in the assassination of heads of state and plots against independent governments. This sinister activity is designed to destroy the leadership and the organization of peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the stranglehold of American economic and political domination. United States' militarism is inseparable from that same predatory capitalism which reduced the American people themselves to poverty within the living memory of this generation. The same essential motives have led to barbarous and atrocious crimes on a great scale in Vietnam.

"I have called on intellectuals and eminent independent men and women from all parts of the world to join in an international War Crimes Tribunal which will hear evidence concerning the crimes of the U. S. Government in Vietnam. You will remember that Germans were considered guilty if they acquiesced in and accepted the crimes of their government. Nobody considered it a sufficient excuse for Germans to say that they knew about the gas chambers and the concentration camps, the torture and the mutilation, but were unable to stop it. I appeal to you as a human being to human beings. Remember your humanity and your own self-respect. The war against the people of Vietnam is barbaric. It is an aggressive war of conquest. . . .

"So it is that the real struggle for freedom and democracy is inside the United States itself, against the usurpers of American society. I have no doubt that the American people would respond just as the Vietnamese have responded if the United States were invaded and subjected to the atrocities and tortures which the United States army and Government have inflicted on the Vietnamese. The American protest movement, which has inspired people all over the world, is the only true spokesman for American concern for individual liberty and social justice.

"The battle-front for freedom is in Washington, in the struggle against the war criminals—Johnson, Rusk and McNamara—who have degraded the United States and its citizens. Indeed, they have stolen the United States from its people and made the name of a great country stink in the nostrils of people the world over. . . .

"The War Crimes Tribunal is under urgent preparation now. I am approaching eminent jurists, literary figures and men of public affairs in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the United States itself. Vietnamese victims of this war will give evidence. Full scientific data concerning the chemicals used, their properties and their effects will be documented. Eye-witnesses will describe what they have seen and scientists will be invited to examine the exhibits in the possession of the Tribunal. The proceedings will be tape-recorded and the full evidence will be published. There will be documentary film material concerning the witnesses and their evidence. We aim to provide the most exhaustive portrayal of what has happened to the people of Vietnam. We intend that the peoples of the world shall be aroused as never before, the better to prevent the repetition of this tragedy elsewhere. Just as in the case of Spain, Vietnam is a barbarous rehearsal. It is our intention that neither the bona fides nor the authenticity of this Tribunal will be susceptible to challenge from those who have so much to hide. President Johnson, Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Henry Cabot Lodge, General Westmoreland and their fellow criminals will be brought before a wider justice than they deserve, and a more profound condemnation than they are equipped to understand.

18 June, 1966

THE REPLY

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400070001-1
From a Letter by Professor Massimo Salvadori

"Dear Lord Russell:

"I received from the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation a copy of your appeal of June 18 directed to 'the American conscience.' I am not an American but I am taking the liberty of sending you a few comments, in the consciousness that this exchange is possible because you and I are fortunate enough to live in two of the few states in which expression is still relatively free, mail circulates uncensored, and dissent, however much resented by powerful people and groups, is not a crime leading to loss of life or liberty.

"With profound grief—mainly because of my life-long admiration for you as the greatest spokesman in my generation for Roosevelt's first freedom—I see from the appeal that instead of working for peace you are advocating the victory of one belligerent. This means advocating the continuation of the tragic war in Vietnam, with all the suffering it entails, and deliberately courting the growing danger that a limited localized conflict will become unlimited and general. . . .

"Your appeal displays a regrettable lack of familiarity with the American scene. If, as you claim, 50 percent of the gross national product of the United States is devoted to military spending, one wonders how American families can spend on consumer goods and durable goods and services of all kinds, and put aside as savings, most of the \$565 billion which early in July represented the rate of personal incomes for 1966, about 78% of a gross national output of \$725 billion (the figures are reported in the *New York Times* of July 10). Estimates for defense expenditures in 1966, inclusive of the war in Vietnam, amount to about \$65 billions, or 9 percent of the GNP. Adding other items related to defense, American 'military spending' is, percentage-wise, less than that of the major totalitarian states.

"You state that the American people have been reduced 'to poverty within the living memory of this generation,' ignoring that the range of average real personal incomes of socio-economic groups has narrowed; that Roosevelt's third of a nation became Truman's fifth, to be further reduced later; that the \$3,000 or so per year which divide the poor from the non-poor, is more in terms of equivalent purchasing power than the average income of most people in other countries deemed prosperous. . . .

"You state that the American Press lies. In the press of the United States (over twenty thousand periodicals and nearly two thousand dailies) one finds supporters for the most conflicting positions—and every statement is of course considered a lie by those who do not agree with it (all enemies of freedom of the press have argued that freedom of the press is freedom to lie). Actually, all the information available to you is available to the American public and has been used in anti-Government demonstrations and teach-ins; and in such influential newspapers as the *New York Times*. Mr. Lippmann writes freely in conservative newspapers against the Government's foreign policy.

"I could quote other errors in your appeal, up to the crucial one—one of the two major points on which you base your argument—that the 'all-powerful group' of a few industrialists and generals (the 'monopolists' of Stalinist jargon) rule the American nation. Errors such as the exploded commonplaces about the growing impoverishment of the masses, the 'nominal public office' or meaninglessness of democratic institutions, press lies, monopolists, belong in the dogmatic intellectual scheme of those who have set up totally despotic and totally conformist systems, each of them a complete denial of individual liberty and social justice. . . .

"One infers from the appeal that Americans—with the most numerous intelligentsia, both absolutely and relatively, of any nation, with over five millions young people exposed every day for 32 weeks a year to the contradictory statements of hundreds of thousands of college and university teachers, with the largest audiences listening to conflicting views on all controversial subjects, with the greatest variety of books and periodicals—are ignorant imbeciles, pawns in the hands of a few evil all-powerful rulers. . . .

"As a basic postulate the imbecility of the many can be neither proved nor disproved. Like the possession of truth, it is an article of faith (and therefore, to paraphrase Locke, should not be imposed on others). There are Americans who share your view, but not many, and it was not so in the past. The only principle that the American system, unlike all authoritarian societies, is predicated on another principle than the distinction between the enlightened who rule and the unenlightened

who are ruled. It is predicated on the elementary principle that human beings are more or less equal; that therefore one opinion, position or tendency has as much right of citizenship as another; that what matters most is to find a formula allowing peaceful coexistence between different opinions and not the triumph of any particular truth; that, therefore, method is more important than goals; that democracy is, despite its many shortcomings, the correct formula for political method; that *the enemy is not the dissenter but only he who wants to destroy the right to dissent*. . . .

"What the government does is simply to try to implement (partially, because in the American system no tendency can have total sway) what a majority of the citizens think is right. People change their minds, majorities shift and so do policies: this, anathema to authoritarian societies, is the norm in democratic ones. It is not a question of being more intelligent, more informed, or less, but of having different attitudes towards problems—sometimes because of economic interests, but more often because of basic convictions that cut across economic lines.

"The war in Vietnam is now the most important issue facing American citizens. For a correct evaluation of the nation as a whole, instead of dredging up deception, conspiracy, ignorance, stupidity, it is necessary to find what basic convictions make for this or that attitude—particularly what causes a majority of Americans to believe, most reluctantly, that war has to be waged in Vietnam. We know empirically that any group facing a problem divides, whenever people can express themselves freely, and that only extreme coercion such as exists in China and North Vietnam makes for unanimity and conformity. If your interpretation concerning the rule of 'monopolists' were correct there would be uniformity also in the United States. . . .

"Opposing the war in Vietnam is a minority composed of divergent groups: religious and non-religious pacifists, who are deserving of the highest respect; pseudo-pacifist Marxist-Leninists and their fellow travellers, who hypocritically cry peace while all they want is victory; old and new isolationists (the old from the ranks of the conservatives and the new from the liberals); and a few others. A larger minority is made up of those who are not sure what stand to take. Believing in the need to wage all-out war is the fringe of nationalists and quite a few frightened people convinced that offense is the best defense. Not many businessmen *qua* businessmen are for war, as it is realized that the longer the war lasts the stricter will be government control of industry. The bulk of the 52 percent or so who at mid-July were neither for withdrawal nor for all-out war and who approved the Administration's policy of limited war in Vietnam, consisted of tens of millions no less intelligent, informed, honest and responsible than their opponents: citizens who see in 'communism' the major threat either to American security or to democracy (as an American or a universal value), or both. . . .

"In your appeal you list American war crimes. Americans are aware of what is going on and have the sense of guilt necessary to stop brutality when no longer imposed by external pressures. There is no sense of guilt on the other side. Stalinists, dogmatists and their fellow travellers are proud of their cruelty. I have yet to meet a single Stalinist or dogmatist who has a sense of guilt about the tens of millions who died in concentration camps as the result of collectivization, communes and 'leaps,' about the millions killed in areas occupied by Stalin's and Mao's troops in the 1940's; or—as your appeal concerns Vietnam—about the tens of thousands killed by Viet Minh in 1945-46 and again in 1954-55, and by the Vietcong during the six years preceding American mass armed intervention. It is time to stop this double standard and this hypocrisy of shedding tears for the victims of opponents while rejoicing in the massacres performed by one's friends. Ten years ago Stalin's former henchman Khrushchev lamented the Stalinist killing of Communists: not a word was said about millions of non-Communists killed during Stalin's era in the Soviet Union and in conquered countries.

"The second of the two main arguments in the appeal (the first being the gullibility of the American public) concerns the non-Communist character of the Vietcong. It is pointed out that 'the Vietcong is, in fact, a broad alliance like the popular fronts of Europe.' What popular front approved of the Soviet-Nazi agreement of 1939 and of Soviet aggressions against six states in 1939-40, and did all it could to hand France over to the Nazis

in 1940? That of Spain, buried in the senseless massacres of Syndicalists and dissident Communists in Barcelona and Albacete in 1937? The fake fronts which served as cloak to Stalinist totalitarianism in Balkan and Danubian countries? Having experienced the fraud of Popular and National Fronts in the 1930's and 1940's with Stalinists, would one be glib enough to start again with their heirs?

"Would Stalinists and dogmatists everywhere be so enthusiastic about the Vietcong if they did not recognize it as one of their own kind? There will be, of course, a grateful acceptance of evidence that the supposedly dead victims of the Viet Minh and of the Vietcong are alive, free and in good health; that the hundreds of thousands of refugees from North Vietnam and from Vietcong terrorism (altogether about one and a half million people early in 1966) can return to their homes and occupations while keeping the convictions of their choice; that in North Vietnam officials are freely elected, dissent is a right, free public discussion directs government decisions, the needs of the consumers and not political interests direct the economic process, economic inequality is the consequence of one's role in the economy and not of non-economic factors, law prevails over arbitrary action, absence of opposition is the outcome of freely reached decisions and not of coercion, non-Communists and anti-Communists enjoy civil rights. When such evidence is produced, attitudes will change.

"You ask Americans what it would mean if an enemy did in the United States what Americans are doing in Vietnam. Your question lacks the introduction that the events in fact had. This can also be put in the form of questions. What would it mean if you and your friends could not reach your country seat in Wales because of terroristic activities of Welsh National Socialists, trained, armed and financed by National Socialists in power, say, in a Middle Eastern state? if in a period of five years thousands of Welshmen mainly concerned with their daily routine had been assassinated? if disobedience to the orders of the terrorists had been punished with indiscriminating massacres, with the killing of women and children and the destruction of villages and hamlets? For several years native and non-native agents of the parties in power in China and North Vietnam had pretty much of a free hand in many rural districts of South Vietnam: now that what they did to others is being done to them, they complain. (It reminds one of the old Bolsheviks who enthusiastically used terrorism in 1918-21 and did not relish it when applied to them in 1936-38.)

"It is suggested in the appeal that Americans should stay home. But Americans are doing today what they have been doing since 1940 when, reluctantly, because war is repulsive to all except fanatics, the United States Government passed from verbal declarations to deeds, initiating, with the destroyer-bases deal, the policy of containment of totalitarianism. First it was Hitlerian totalitarianism, then Stalinist, now Dogmatist. Americans are doing in Vietnam what they did in France in 1944, what the British were doing in Spain in 1808-1813 against Napoleonic despotism, what the French were doing in North America in 1778-1781, what the Dutch did—fortunately for the cause of liberty which is also the cause of progress—in England in 1683-89, and also (the enemy's

enemies being friends) what the Germans did in helping Sinn Feiners, unsuccessfully, in 1916 and Bolsheviks, successfully, in 1917.

"The mistaken evaluation of the American nation by Peking and Hanoi, repeating the similar errors of the German Government in 1917, of the Japanese Militarists in 1941, of Stalin in 1950, has led to what had not existed when organized Dogmatist warfare began in South Vietnam—it has led to the presence of a large American armed force which changes the *relationship of power* in a wide area. Some side effects of American intervention have served the cause of peace. Because the limited industrial and financial resources of states ruled by the dogmatist faction were absorbed in waging war in South Vietnam, there has been some decline in Chinese-caused tension along the borders between China and five of her neighbors; the revival of Chinese-supported armed activities in several continental and insular states of Southeastern Asia has been weaker than expected; from Nigeria to Malawi, African governments have been able to keep Chinese armed trainees under control, and to avoid civil wars which might easily have become international ones: the nationalist insurrection in Indonesia having been successful because of the impossibility, due to American presence in South Vietnam, for Chinese rulers to send arms to their friends, the three-year-old war between Indonesia and Malaysia—one of five major wars in recent years—has come to an end. All this can give comfort to peace-loving people. But the future is ominous. At any moment the war in Vietnam can explode, maybe accidentally, into World War III; the longer the war lasts the greater the impact not only on Chinese totalitarianism and on American democracy but on nations and movements everywhere. The Vietnam war is easily the most important event in the world today. . . .

"A discussion of interpretations and on rights and wrongs, in your appeal and in a myriad statements, is necessary to clarify individual positions. It is of course tragic that discussion is possible only in a few nations, that citizens of many nations are deprived of the flexibility in convictions and decisions which only freedom can give, that no one can do in China and other states ruled by dogmatists what you can do in Great Britain and in the United States. . . .

"Efforts to end the war through means other than total victory and total defeat requiring the continuation of hostilities, are possible only when the equal right of opponents to their beliefs is recognized; when the democratic principle of compromise replaces the totalitarianism one of enforcement of the 'truth' in the search for solutions to problems pitting people against each other. Peaceful coexistence between states—which is not just the temporary outcome of a precarious balance of power—needs the application at the international level of the democratic formula evolved in modern times for peaceful existence among different tendencies within the state. On this simple assumption the League of Nations and the United Nations were based. *Totalitarian and isolationist influence in the world led to the collapse of the League. Let us hope that these influences will be held in check so that the United Nations may be saved from the same fate.*"

July 16, 1966

Q What will happen if mainland China continues under Communist leadership?

A Most Japanese seem to feel that, since the Japanese will have the vast population of China as relatively close neighbors throughout history, they should learn to live with them as amicably as possible. But how this is to be done remains a problem for them as it is for everyone else.

Q Are the Japanese convinced the Communists will always rule China?

A Always is a long time. But I should say that most Japanese assume the Communists will go on ruling for the foreseeable future.

They see no reason to expect otherwise.

[END]

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Aug. 8, 1966

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TIME, FEBRUARY 25, 1966

JAPAN

New Co-Prosperity Sphere

From Soviet Russia to Sumatra and across the broad Pacific to South America, Japanese businessmen smilingly signed agreements last week that will guarantee them industrial raw materials for years to come. To the Russians, the Japanese pledged \$200 million in pipe and liquefaction equipment with which to develop the Okha natural-gas fields of Soviet-held Sakhalin island; in return, 7,000,000 cu. ft. per year of Sakhalin gas will be shipped to Japan. In Sumatra, Japanese oilmen promised to invest \$15 million to carry on offshore oilfield drilling; Indonesia will keep 39% of the oil produced, and the Japanese will get the rest. And the Mitsui Mining & Smelting Co. paid \$8,000,000 for copper and zinc mines in Peru; next year the mines will begin shipping concentrated ores to Japan.

The entire Japanese economy is at stake in such far-flung horse trades. Despite its industrial strength, Japan is virtually barren of natural resources, depends on imports for 99% of its petroleum, 96% of its iron ore, 85% of its copper and 75% of its zinc. Last year the island nation imported 205 million tons of raw materials, 20% more than in 1964, at a cost of \$3.2 billion.

It was mainly to overcome its raw-materials deficit that Japan, in the name of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, once sent its armies on the march. After World War II, the Japanese turned from the bayonet to the bargaining table in their quest for raw materials, but until fairly recently they have relied mostly on piecemeal pur-

chasing. Now they are moving toward longer-range development projects. Explains Saburo Tanabe, in charge of procurement for the huge Fuji Iron & Steel Co., "The day of spot purchases is ending. The Japanese must go out and develop untapped resources, because this means stabilized supplies over long periods of time." Among current Japanese ventures:

► For wood products, a Japanese-owned pulp mill in Sitka, Alaska, uses the output of 1,500,000 nearby acres of leased forest, ships home 165,000 tons of pulp a year, presently provides 85% of Japanese imports. Additional sources are being developed in Canada and Borneo.

► For copper, the mineral in shortest supply, the Japanese have signed long-term contracts for the output of mines in Canada, the Philippines, Bolivia, Australia and the Transvaal of South Africa, are now guaranteed shipments of 122,600 tons annually.

► For ore to support Japan's steel industry, the world's third largest, Japanese companies have purchase agreements covering five fields in Australia, have put up \$21 million to develop iron sources in India, will get more ore from Goa and Brazil to ensure a total 50 million tons a year. Coke to reduce it will come from Australia.

► For bauxite, Japan has signed a ten-year agreement for 1,000,000 tons a year, to be mined at Cape York Peninsula, Australia.

► For petroleum, the Japanese, besides drilling in Sumatra, are partners in a venture with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, this year will receive 58 million bbls. from the tri-nation Arabian Oil Co., which is operating in offshore Kuwait.

THE MIRACLE OF JAPAN— WHERE IS IT HEADED NOW?

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Interview With Retiring U. S. Ambassador to Tokyo

Where does Japan stand now, two decades after crushing defeat—and where is she headed?

In this interview the retiring U. S. Ambassador, Edwin O. Reischauer, tells the story of an amazing comeback, and the explanation for it.

Mr. Reischauer was interviewed in Tokyo by K. M. Chrysler of the International Staff of "U. S. News & World Report." The interview took place as the American official was winding up five years as head of the U. S. Embassy in Japan.

AT TOKYO

Q Ambassador Reischauer, is today's Japan the story of a miracle?

A Well, I don't believe in miracles. But Japan's is a remarkable story of great achievements in the last 20 years.

Q What sorts of achievements?

A Complete reconstruction of the terrible war damages, and then, on top of that, a tremendous surge forward toward further modernization and economic growth.

Q Do you think American aid was much of a factor in the country's revival?

A In the early days, American aid was certainly a help in getting Japan going again, just as the Marshall Plan was important to Europe immediately after the war. And, on the whole, I believe U. S. occupation policies were wise; our record was good. But when you have finished mentioning those two things, you have explained only a small part of the total.

The main thing is the character of the Japanese people. First of all, their great capacity for hard work. Second, the high level of technical skill that already existed in Japan before the war. Third, a thorough understanding of the importance of knowledge and a desire to get as much education as possible—a yearning for learning. And, finally, great skill in social organization. By this I mean being able to operate Government institutions smoothly, organize giant industrial complexes, and so on.

This is an unbeatable combination, and Japan has had it since the middle of the nineteenth century. The great speed with which Japan modernized can be explained primarily by these characteristics, and they are the fundamental reasons for this country's success after the second World War.

Q What standard of living has Japan reached, compared with the United States, or with other countries in Asia?

A It's a good rule of thumb to assume that a Japanese worker or industrialist, college professor or merchant gets about one fifth or one fourth the income of his counterpart in the U. S. Compared with Communist China, India and the rest of Asia, it would vary from about 5 to 1 in Japan's favor to 10 or more to 1.

Q Is your basic yardstick per capita income?

A Yes, you can't do it any other way. But perhaps more important than absolute statistics are the relative ones. I can remember 10 or 15 years ago when I was telling people

Japanese incomes were one tenth those in the United States. The fact that within a few years they have moved up from one tenth to one fifth is the really important thing.

Q Can Japan ever hope to enjoy the same standard of living as the U. S.?

A With the much poorer natural base here and the much greater crowding on a small piece of land, it's hard to see the Japanese catching up with us completely, but they are certainly getting closer all the time.

Maybe the most interesting comparisons would be with Europe. While the Japanese standard of living is not equal to Northwest Europe as yet, it certainly has caught up with Southern Europe, and has probably passed much of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Q Has the lack of a heavy defense burden made it easier for the Japanese?

A Obviously, the fact that we have carried the largest part of the load for the defense of Japan and stability in the Far East all these years has allowed Japan to put only a little over 1 per cent of its gross national product directly into its own defense, only a quarter or a fifth of the rate of defense expenditures of most other advanced countries.

This is a partial explanation of the rapid postwar growth here. But the real lesson to be learned from Japan's postwar experience is that the wealth of a nation depends much less on natural resources than it does on human qualities. Such things as energy, skill, knowledge and organizational ability outweigh the natural-resources element many times over. There's no comparison between the two.

Q Are there other lessons, too?

A Yes. Japan is one of the best demonstrations of the advantages of a mixed economy, that is, an economy which, despite the need in industrialized societies for various types of Government controls, leaves as much room as possible for individual initiative.

Japan has shown that this kind of economy has a much greater potential for rapid growth than a completely planned economy. Japan has set the pace for the world in the postwar years, letting Government give co-ordination and aid where necessary, but leaving the basic economic development up to private enterprise.

Q Many people maintain that Japan is the best living example of a Government-controlled economy—

A The Japanese obviously have closer integration be-

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THE MIRACLE OF JAPAN [continued]

tween Government and business than we have in the U. S., but probably no more than in some of the countries of North-western Europe, which have mixed economies, too.

There is ample room for private initiative in Japan, on both a big and small scale. This is the fundamental reason for Japan's success, in the past as well as today.

Japan's nineteenth-century history has been misread by a number of people who attributed its growth to a Government-planned economy. That was not the reason. The Government pioneered in a few difficult fields, and it provided social stability, a stable currency and a favorable environment for economic growth, but the chief push came from individual enterprise.

Q Where do Japan's greatest opportunities for future trade expansion now lie?

A It's a truism that advanced nations do more trade with each other than with anybody else, so I imagine the largest area for future Japanese trade will remain with the other advanced nations. The big role that America plays in Japanese exports and imports will probably continue without any diminution. And I would expect substantial growth in Japan's trade with Western Europe, which seems to me abnormally low at present.

Much of Japan's trade, however, is with the less developed parts of the world. Southeast Asia and other areas like it take close to 50 per cent of Japan's trade.

It could be that, as these countries become more stable and prosperous, they will come to account for an even larger proportion of Japan's total trade. But I don't see any one area suddenly expanding and becoming dominant. Certainly not Communist China, which simply does not have the economic potential. Historically, it has never been a particularly big Japanese trading partner, except for the rather special period when Japan was trying to build an empire in China and was making huge investments in Manchuria and trying to get back as much as she could from this investment.

This emphasis on China at that time was largely for strategic reasons and was not the product of natural economic forces.

Q Would you say then that the gap between Japan and other advanced countries will narrow, while that between Japan and its neighbors widens?

A There isn't much gap left with the advanced nations. Japan has already caught up in per capita income to the lower fringe of them, and will probably push up further in standing. In gross terms, Japan is now the sixth-largest economic unit in the world, and in the next decade may well pass the U. K., France and West Germany to become the third after the United States and the Soviet Union.

At the same time, Japan is undoubtedly drawing farther and farther away from the less developed countries. But this is a worldwide phenomenon. Almost all the advanced nations are growing faster than most of the less developed ones. This is the great tragedy and problem of our times.

Q Is Japan now at a point where her role in Asia will expand?

A It is expanding rapidly, right now. For almost 20 years, Japan played only a small role in Asia or anywhere else. This was, first of all, because of its defeat and the serious economic problems it faced at the end of the war. The psychological damages of the war lasted even longer than the physical damage. As a result, Japan's role until the early 1960s was much smaller than would be normal for a country of its size and importance. Now she is in the process of transition to what would be a much more natural role.

Q What is that?

A A role as the great economic and political power in this whole part of the world. I feel quite strongly that, in the long run, Japan will probably do more to affect the future of Asia than China. China's influence is negative and recognized as such by everybody, whereas the positive role Japan can play is not so widely understood as yet. But for the last year or so, Japan has been showing signs of getting ready to assume a new position of leadership.

I do not envisage this as an attempt to re-create through political domination a "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere." But within the economic field, Japan is likely to play a major role in the Far Eastern area and perhaps more widely. She is capable of giving a great deal of economic aid and technological assistance, and she has already become the biggest trading partner of many of the countries of Southeast Asia.

Q Is Japan likely to become a force for stability in this part of the world?

A The only reason Japan can take on a larger role is because she is becoming more stable herself all the time. There is much argument and debate in Japan these days over her role in the world, but the fact that this is being debated so fully and freely indicates considerable progress over a few years ago when this subject was avoided as being too embarrassing.

Today, Japan is not only a stable economic and social unit, but extraordinarily stable politically. This is clear if one looks back over past elections and at what the real political life of this country has been.

JAPAN'S "REAL DEMOCRACY"—

Q Is there democracy here?

A I would call Japan one of the real working examples of democracy. Because of a more shallow history of democracy, going back less than a century, its democracy is not as deeply rooted as in the English-speaking countries and parts of Northwestern Europe. But, next to those areas, Japan has perhaps as well-established and firm a democracy as any in the world. Therefore, being fundamentally stable herself and holding the concept of a peaceful, free and stable world as its ideal, Japan's contribution will be toward greater world stability.

Q Do you look for Japan to take more initiative in political affairs?

A With aid programs and other activities, Japan is now beginning to exert considerable economic influence. The political side will probably follow in time. The Japanese are still extremely cautious about such matters. There are still

deep resentments of the Japanese in many parts of the Far East because of memories of the last war. Consequently, there's a tendency to hold back and be cautious. So I don't mean to suggest that Japan will move swiftly into a position of political leadership. But, thinking in terms of a five or 10 year period, I feel certain that Japan will exercise great influence—and in the right direction.

LEADERSHIP IN ASIA—

Q Do you foresee Japan's assuming some of the U. S. burden out here?

A A country of this size and importance, located in this part of the world, will inevitably take over some of the leadership responsibilities we have in the past exercised almost alone, because others were not prepared to share the burden.

The past situation of almost exclusive U. S. leadership was an unnatural one, and it would seem inevitable that, while our economic and political responsibilities may not diminish, Japan will come to assume similar responsibilities.

Q With our blessing?

A This is the kind of world we believe in—co-operation between different countries. We'd be delighted to see Japan take more leadership and assume the responsibilities that go with it.

Q Lately, the Japanese seem to be showing more interest in Vietnam—

A I'm not sure you can describe it as "more" interest. Certainly, in 1965, there was tremendous interest—deep concern and great worry. In 1966, there has been some calming down of the excitement over Vietnam, and this perhaps has given the Japanese a chance to look at the problem as a whole in better perspective. Their interest may be a more soundly based interest, but it certainly is no greater than last year.

Q Is there more understanding of United States policies in Vietnam?

A The Japanese public, I believe, tends to be critical of U. S. policies. On the other hand, the Japanese are not as prone to all-out condemnation of the U. S. as they were last year. There is a greater realization that Vietnam is a very complex problem with no easy solutions. Therefore, there may be greater sympathy for us and more understanding now than there was last year of the difficulties we face in Vietnam.

Q There has been considerable debate here in recent months about nuclear arms. Are the Japanese still content to look to the U. S. for defense against nuclear attack?

A One of the most spectacular changes here in the last six or eight months has been the sudden upsurge in discussion of Japan's defense problems. In this connection, the Japanese are talking about the nuclear issue in public for the first time since the war.

As people become conscious of the problems of defense, one natural reaction is to desire an entirely independent defense position, so there are even people who suggest that Japan should take on its own nuclear defense. My own feeling is that this is not very realistic. I would assume that Japan will continue to look to us for nuclear defense.

Q Indefinitely?

A Well, I think the situation is comparable to that of most of our leading allies in Europe who look to us, perhaps indefinitely, for the same kind of defense.

Q There are reports that Japan is hoping and planning to assume most of its own defense by the mid-'70s, preparing to bid the U. S. adieu militarily by 1980—

A If there weren't some Japanese thinking this way, I would be surprised. But, I think, when they come to study the problem fully, they will probably find it is not to their advantage to do it that way.

Q Are conventional Japanese defenses being increased?

A Expansion to date has been very slow. Increases in the defense budget hardly more than accommodate rises in wages and prices.

The Japanese may decide to put more effort into defense, but nothing has actually been decided yet. And you must remember that even a doubling of Japan's defense expenditures would not get her beyond 2.5 per cent of gross national product, which would be only about half what most countries of this size spend.

Another factor to remember is that Japan is in a particularly isolated geographic position. She is the only great industrial nation in this part of the world and is not surrounded by other like-minded nations. This means that, unlike France, she does not automatically have the defense provided by the presence of other strong, industrialized nations around her.

Q Pacifism has been preached hard in postwar Japan. Is the feeling as strong as they would have everyone believe?

A When you say "they," you're talking about 100 million people with many diverse attitudes. There are many dedicated pacifists in Japan and a lot more people who just vaguely feel they hate war and don't want to spend money for defense, but who haven't really thought the thing through clearly.

I suspect the pacifist tendency will remain strong among a large part of the Japanese public for some time into the future. This is one reason why an all-out effort to take on all of their defense load alone is not very probable.

I believe that the Japanese, like many other people elsewhere in the world, will come to the conclusion that collective security is the only way for Japan to achieve real security.

In that case, they may also decide that a strong program of Japanese economic aid to less developed countries would be a better way for Japan to utilize its wealth than by spending very heavily on arms. This might prove better not only for Japan, but for the free world collectively.

FUTURE OF OKINAWA—

Q Still talking about defense: Do you sense much support in Japan for getting the U. S. out of Okinawa?

A A recent public-opinion poll shows the return of Okinawa and the Bonin Islands as ranking next to nuclear proliferation as a problem the public wishes the Government to take up more actively.

While Okinawa is not necessarily on the minds of most people most of the time, it is something on which Japanese, left or right, can agree. Twenty-one years after the war,

they are unhappy to see close to a million Japanese still not living under Japanese administration.

Q Does the U.S. have any timetable for returning Okinawa to Japan?

A No, there's no timetable. We've always said that we look forward to the return and hope it can be soon. But security considerations come first, including those of Japan itself, as well as the U.S. and the whole of the Far East.

Q Are the Japanese likely to seek the return of any other areas that they were forced to give up at the end of the war?

A Okinawa, the Bonins and the Kurile Islands are the ones in their minds. The pressure for the return of the southern part of the Kurile Islands is strong, and Japan's historical case is extremely good. But, however good the case is, the Russians have not shown any willingness to meet the demands of Japan.

Otherwise, Japan makes no territorial claims. The mandated islands of the Pacific, and Sakhalin, to say nothing of Korea and Taiwan, have been wiped completely out of their minds, as far as I can see.

Q What is the probable future relationship of Japan and mainland China?

A We all hope that someday Communist China will want to be a normal member of the society of nations, having contacts with the outside world at least as friendly as those of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Eventually, I presume, that is the kind of relationship Japan will want to establish with the mainland. However, I don't see any rapid motion in that direction, because the Chinese Communists insist that they will deal only with countries that support them in their effort to take over Taiwan, against the wishes of the people who live there. The Japanese, like us, value their relations with the Republic of China on Taiwan too much to accept these conditions.

The Japanese have a deep interest in Taiwan. They do a great deal of trade with it. They are proud of their record there in colonial days and are pleased that the native Taiwanese are friendly toward them. At present, Japan cannot achieve any substantial improvement in relations with Communist China without cutting off relations with Taiwan, and that is a price which they are not willing to pay.

Q What does Communist China's possession of nuclear bombs mean to Japan?

A I think it poses psychological problems. It's probably one of the main reasons why there has recently been such a heated, vigorous debate in Japan over defense matters.

But I personally find it hard to imagine China's developing a nuclear capacity to the point where it would really be a threat to a Japan which had a strong defense partnership with the United States. I don't think it poses a problem as long as there is a strong tie with a real nuclear power like ourselves.

Q Is fear of China now replacing the feeling of a common heritage, traditionally held by so many Japanese?

A Actually, the common-heritage feeling is strongest among old people. Younger Japanese feel the kinship and identity of culture much less, because there really isn't much identity. The Japanese and Chinese political and social systems have differed radically from each other for more than a thousand years. The divergence in the last hundred years, and particularly the past 20 years, has been more and more rapid.

As they move into the modern world, purely twentieth-century things become a bigger part of Japanese culture, and traditional elements shared with China, such as Chinese characters, Confucian philosophy and a classic, historical tradition, become a smaller part of the total. Just as, let's say, the modern Russian who shares our Judeo-Greek heritage finds little bond with us through that as compared with the divergence between twentieth-century American and Russian social and political patterns.

Q Is there some special reason why the Japanese, as a people on a small island, are more successful than other Asian nations in ordering their affairs?

A That's a dangerous question to ask a historian.

The question why Japan, some centuries ago, began to diverge from most other Asian patterns has always fascinated me. I dare say the isolation of an island environment had a lot to do with it. Probably the first key step was that, in this isolation, the Japanese developed a full feudal type of organization much like that of feudal Western Europe and quite different from what existed in any other Asian country. This, in turn, produced psychological, social and organizational characteristics more like those of Europe than Asia.

This divergence from the more normal Asian patterns is a deep thing reaching far back into the past.

It has been strengthened recently, of course, by a century of technological modernization. Japan has become a part of the modern world, while most of Asia has not. What were already sharp distinctions 100 years ago have become even sharper. Take, for example, the extraordinarily high rate of Japanese literacy. In the middle of the nineteenth century, before modernization had started, literacy may have been as high as 35 per cent, including women—higher than in many Asian countries even today. Now, of course, it is virtually 100 per cent.

Q Is there anything in Japan's experience to suggest that China might thrive, despite an immense population, if it followed different policies?

A I've always assumed that the Chinese, the Koreans and possibly the Vietnamese, who share a good deal culturally with the Japanese in the sense that they are hard-working and put a high value on education, could make more rapid progress than peoples whose cultures have not put the same store by such things.

Having said that, though, I have to admit that the Chinese are starting far behind where the Japanese started. There's a gap of centuries, and, unfortunately, the Chinese are utilizing a totalitarian method of modernization which, by cutting down seriously on individual initiative, hinders rather than speeds up growth.

DOUBTS ABOUT RED CHINA—

Q How do the Japanese size up the future of China?

A There are different opinions, of course, all the way from the romantic view of the old-fashioned admirers of China who think of China as still the land of Confucius, to those who have complete faith in Communist techniques. I think, however, that there is a growing skepticism in Japan about Chinese ability to make very rapid economic progress.

P.C.S., ANNEE ZERO

RPS.C. Dans notre numéro 37, nous pensions pouvoir affirmer que le "Parti communiste suisse" et son organe-qui-doit-mettre-le-feu-aux-poudres - "L'Etincelle" -, après avoir renié Khrouchtchev, condamné le Parti suisse du Travail (de rite soviétique) et dénoncé Mao... s'étaient engagés dans une "voie roumaine", à mi-chemin entre Moscou et Pékin. Le camarade-secrétaire du Parti n'avait-il pas dénoncé "les luxueuses ambassades chinoises en Europe" et rejeté l'étiquette de "pro-ambassade de Chine à Berne"? N'était-ce pas lui qui écrivait : "Nous n'approuvons pas la question du Tigre en papier... Nous n'approuvons pas le culte de la personnalité... Nous n'approuvons pas le soutien que les camarades chinois accordent à certains aventuriers..." ou encore : "Etre marxiste-léniniste ne veut pas dire pro-chinois"?

Cette position semblait assez voisine de celle des camarades roumains. A la rigueur, on aurait pu parler de marxisme... helvétique : "L'Etincelle" affirmait bien haut qu'elle avait choisi un "communisme marxiste-léniniste adapté à la Suisse".

Las ! Le P.C.S. vient lui aussi de faire sa "révolution culturelle", réduisant à néant nos affirmations péremptoires !

A la veille de son 3e Congrès - qui doit se dérouler "quelque part" dans les environs de Lausanne -, il lance un appel "à tous les camarades anciens qui, pour des raisons diverses, se sont séparés de nous ou que nous avons séparés de nous". (Notons au passage qu'à chacune de ces "séparations", le secrétariat du Parti invoquait la fameuse devise "prolétaires de tous les pays et peuples opprimés, UNISSEZ-VOUS !)... Or donc, le P.C.S. va "passer l'éponge sur le passé et revenir dans la première voie que nous nous étions fixée mais que nous avons déviée (sic)". En d'autres termes, il va reprendre "la ligne juste et droite du marxisme-léninisme, appliquer les théories de Marx, Engels, Lénine, Staline, Mao Tsé-Tung, Enver Hodja et Fidel Castro, et suivre leur exemple incomparable d'intelligence et de droiture pour le bonheur des peuples opprimés et pour la création d'une société socialiste mondiale". Suit une longue condamnation du révisionnisme, où il est surtout question du "criminel pantin Khrouchtchev", de ses successeurs ("plus subtils, mais aussi plus venimeux") et des partis frères qui "reçoivent leurs directives de Moscou et des encouragements des capitalistes, du Vatican et autres lieux de brigands."

Mais heureusement, le P.C.S. va mettre bon ordre à tous ces débordements. Pour arriver plus vite à l'"oasis final" (entendez par là le triomphe du socialisme), le P.C.S. a "repris des contacts constructifs et agissants avec les organisations marxistes-léninistes, principalement le Parti communiste de Belgique, sur lequel nous nous étions trompés". L'auto-critique qui suit présente un intérêt sociologique certain ; aussi la reproduisons-

"Nous devons réparer nos erreurs, les injustices commises envers certains camarades en Suisse et ailleurs et c'est pour cela que pour ainsi dire, notre Parti repart à ses débuts, c'est-à-dire qu'il ne déviara plus jamais de la ligne adoptée lors de sa création. Il faudra que la direction du PCS soit vigilante, qu'elle analyse mieux les faits, qu'elle apprenne à se forger, à accepter des conseils, à agir correctement. Une lutte de classe acharnée doit être organisée, des actions concrètes doivent nous faire respecter par les travailleurs de la ville et des campagnes.

"Nous déclarons enfin que nous avons longuement étudié le cas du Parti communiste de Belgique et que nous avons eu à son égard des prises de position injustes, néfastes, anti-révolutionnaires. De même, des fautes analogues ont été commises contre nos camarades marxistes-léninistes de France, d'Italie et surtout de CHINE POPULAIRE.

"Oui, Camarades, la direction du PCS a commis de graves erreurs. Elle est décidée à les racheter, à les réparer et à prouver qu'elle ne les a pas commises par mauvaise foi. Son manque d'expérience, son manque de bons conseillers a été flagrant. Maintenant, la leçon doit profiter..."

C'est ça. Et en attendant : Vive le Grand Bond... en arrière !

THE C.P.S., YEAR ZERO

In our issue number 37 we felt able to affirm that the "Swiss Communist Party" and its publication-which-should-set-fire-to-the-powder -- "L'Etincelle" [The Spark] -- after having renounced Khrushchev, condemned the Swiss Labor Party (of the Moscow camp) and denounced Mao ... had launched itself along the "Rumanian Way," halfway between Moscow and Peking. Hadn't the comrade-secretary of the Party denounced "the luxurious Chinese embassies in Europe" and rejected the label of "pro-Chinese Embassy in Bern"? Wasn't it he who wrote: "We don't approve of the Paper Tiger issue.... We don't approve of the cult of the personality.... We don't approve of the support which the Chinese comrades accord to certain adventurers...." or, again: "To be Marxist-Leninist doesn't mean to be pro-Chinese"?

This position seemed close enough to that of the Rumanian comrades. If necessary, one might have spoken of "Swiss Marxism": "L'Etincelle" openly proclaimed that it had chosen a "Marxist-Leninist Communism adapted to Switzerland."

Alas! The CPS has also just carried out its "cultural revolution," reducing our peremptory affirmations to nothing.

On the eve of its 3rd Congress -- which is supposed to take place "somewhere" in the neighborhood of Lausanne -- it issued an appeal "to all the former comrades who, for diverse reasons, became separated from us, or that we separated from us." (Be it noted in passing that to each of these "separated-ones" the secretary of the Party invoked the famous slogan "proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples, UNITE!").... But, the PCS is going to "wipe the slate clean of the past and return to the original path which was set for us but from which we have deviated (sic)." In other words, it is going to return to "the correct and straight line of Marxist-Leninism, apply the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-tung, Enver Hoxha and Fidel Castro, and follow their incomparable example of intelligence and rectitude for the welfare of the oppressed peoples and for the creation of a world socialist society." There follows a long condemnation of revisionism involving especially the "puppet criminal Khrushchev," his successors ("more subtle, but also more venomous"), and the fraternal parties which "receive their directives from Moscow and encouragement from the capitalists, from the Vatican and from other bandits' lairs."

(Cont.)

But, happily, the PCS is going to straighten out all these excesses. In order to arrive more quickly at the "final oasis" (meaning the triumph of socialism), the PCS has "renewed constructive and active contacts with the Marxist-Leninist organizations, principally the Communist Party of Belgium, about which we were mistaken." The auto-critique which follows represents a certain sociological interest; thus we reproduce it in extenso:

"We must make amends for our errors, the injustices committed against certain comrades in Switzerland and elsewhere, and it is for this that our Party starts again from its beginning, so to speak, that is to say that it will never again deviate from the line adopted at the time of its creation. It will be necessary for the leadership of the PCS to be vigilant, to analyze the facts better, to learn to steel itself, to accept advice, to act correctly. A fierce class struggle must be organized, concrete actions should lead the workers of the city and the country to respect us.

"Finally, we declare that we have studied for a long time the case of the Communist Party of Belgium and we have taken unjust, unfortunate, anti-revolutionary positions in regard to it. Further, analagous faults have been committed against our Marxist-Leninist comrades in France, Italy, and above all COMMUNIST CHINA.

"Yes, comrades, the leadership of the PCS has committed grave errors. It has decided to make up for them, to atone for them, and to prove that they were not committed in bad faith. Its lack of experience, its lack of good advisers have been flagrant. Now, we must profit from the lesson...."

There it is. And, in the meanwhile: Vive the Great Leap ... backwards!

September 23, 1966.

WORLD REACTIONS TO CHINA'S CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND THE
RED GUARDS

World Reaction to the present Cultural Revolution in China, and in particular to the excesses of the Red Guards, can be divided into three sections:

The adverse reactions of pro-Soviet and anti-Chinese communists both in communist countries and in communist parties elsewhere in the world;
The adverse reactions of non-communists; and
The favourable reactions of pro-Chinese communists.

A. Pro-Soviet or anti-Chinese Communists

The pro-Soviet communists fear that the present developments in the cultural revolution, especially the anti-Soviet demonstrations of the Red Guards, will be harmful to the "world communist movement" and the unity of the socialist cause at a time when they feel such unity to be essential in the fight against "U.S. imperialism".

Events in China have widened the split between China and the pro-Soviet communist bloc which is now united in its opposition to Chinese dogmatism.

Austrian Communist Party (CP): Tass on September 9 reported that in an article in Volksstimme, Jenoe Kostmann, a member of the Central Committee of the Austrian CP, had said:

"The strangest thing about what is going on in China under the title of a 'cultural revolution' is a complete or almost complete lack of anything resembling culture".

Bulgaria: The Bulgarian News Agency (BTA) on September 2 published a statement made by the Bulgarian Communist Party expressing concern at the events now taking place in China:

"This concern arises above all from the fact that in the decisions taken by the 11th plenary session [of the Chinese CP], the erroneous and harmful stand of the Chinese Communist Party leadership is again defended. This stand is directed, as is known, against the unity of the communist and other progressive anti-imperialist forces in the world and creates great difficulties in the struggle against imperialist aggression in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as being useful to imperialism and reaction".

Ceylon CP: Pravda on September 15 published an article by the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Ceylon, Keuneman, on events in China. He wrote:

"The Communists who base their activities on the enlightened ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, cannot but experience a feeling of horror and repugnance about certain events which are taking place in China under the name of the 'great proletarian cultural revolution'. There events ... are a crude caricature of the ideas and principles of scientific communism, and only help to discredit the genuine ideals of communism in the eyes of the whole world".

Chilean CP: According to Pravda, of September 10, the Santiago daily paper El Siglo, the pro-Soviet, communist party organ, in commenting on the cultural revolution, stated that the attitude of the Chinese leaders was "quite foreign to the Marxist-Leninist position".

Costa Rican CP: Tass reported on September 9 that Manuel Valverde, 1st Secretary of the Central Committee of the Costa Rican People's Vanguard Party, had said at a press conference that events in China were due to "demagogic and utterly anti-Marxist propaganda" and that elevation of a particular leader to a demigod or latter-day Buddha was akin to fascism.

Cuba: The Cuban Communist Party organ Granma on August 31 stated:

"If the Chinese comrades will listen to advice we warn them that they are making themselves a laughing stock before the whole world, and to reach this conclusion, really it is not necessary to read the works of President Mao".

Czechoslovakia: The Czechoslovak Press Service (CTK) on August 28 broadcast a report from the newspaper Prace which asked:

"Who benefits from the mediaeval auto-da-fe in the Chinese People's Republic, the burning of books which represent a cultural treasure of all mankind? Does it contribute to progress, to a better life of mankind if statues are smashed, second-hand bookshops closed down, if there is vandalism and leading artists are driven to suicide, if doctors are pilloried and labelled Devil, Reactionary Scientist and Dog of the Bourgeois Class? These actions of the Red Guards definitely do not promote progress or unity of the socialist countries".

On September 9, according to CTK, the Czechoslovak President Novotny, in an address to graduates of military academies said, on behalf of the Praesidium of the Central Committee of his Party, that:

"The latest development in China, where a so-called 'cultural revolution' is being carried out by students and children, confirms our criticism of the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party".

He added that the action of the Chinese leaders

"... gives rise to the most serious consequences because it weakens the unity of socialist countries in their assistance rendered to the fighting people of Vietnam".

Ecuador CP: According to Tass on September 6, the weekly Pueblo, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador, has published an article saying that:

"Large scale provocations are committed against the Soviet Union in the course of the notorious cultural revolution in China. These actions of the leaders of the Communist Party of China objectively play into the hands of American imperialists... Such actions by no means advance the interests of the development of the communist revolution... These actions weaken the world camp of revolution".

Finland CP: According to Helsinki radio of September 14 the Finnish and Czechoslovak communist Parties, on September 13, issued a joint statement condemning the Chinese cultural revolution. The communique was issued after the visit of the Finnish CP delegation to Czechoslovakia which ended on September 13.

French CP: France Nouvelle, the organ of the French communist party, on September 7 condemned the activities of the Red Guards and the cultural revolution.

Great Britain, CP: The Communist Party of Great Britain said on September 12, that the main content of the "proletarian cultural revolution" was the deification of Mao Tse-tung and the stultification of creative thinking. It was also:

"... an attempt to crush all opposition to the present dogmatic, sectarian and anti-Soviet policy of the Chinese CP leadership... The so-called 'proletarian cultural revolution' and the activities of the Red Guards are completely alien to the communist movement and are harmful to the cause of communism everywhere".

radio broadcast a dispatch by correspondent Erich Selbmann describing the anti-Soviet demonstrations of the Red Guards as "serious and extremely regrettable".

According to the East German News Agency (ADN) of August 31:

"The GDR Foreign Ministry, in a Note, most sharply protested against the fact that GDR diplomats and members of their families have been recently attacked and exposed to excesses in the Chinese People's Republic".

The Note also stated, according to the broadcast, that the attacks:

"...flagrantly contradict an official declaration made by representatives of the Chinese foreign ministry according to which, measures to ensure the safety of members of the GDR Embassy had been taken".

Greek CP (KKE): On September 8, according to "Voice of Truth", the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party (KKE) made a statement on the situation in China, in which they expressed concern at events in China following the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party:

"These events worry not only the communists but also every democrat in our country ... Peking's new blows against the unity of the world socialist system ... weaken the anti-imperialist struggle...

The KKE disapproves of the systematic cultivation of hate among the Chinese people against the CPSU and the USSR which have offered invaluable assistance to the Chinese revolution and People's China and which are offering full support to and reinforcement of the Vietnamese people's struggle and the liberation movements of all countries. This attitude of the People's Party and People's China has negative and harmful repercussions on the anti-imperialist democratic struggle of the Greek people".

Hungary: The Hungarian Party paper Nepszabadsag of September 4 carried an editorial which said that:

"The Hungarian communists and the entire Hungarian public... have been reading with consternation the news coming from China... Things almost incomprehensible to outside observers are happening. In the Chinese People's Republic, to whose rich cultural heritage of several thousand years every cultivated man of the world looks up, such elements have been allowed to come into the picture who, with the catchword of 'the fight for the new', are raising hammers at art treasures. In that country which was famous for its reverence for family life and respect for the old, it is a regular occurrence that immature youths publicly humiliate old people who, according to them are holding outdated views".

The paper adds:

"We Hungarians have grave historical experiences about what it means when actions are surrendered to those who are not bound by any kind of responsibility".

Indian CP: The New Age, the pro-Soviet Indian Communist Party organ, on September 11 published the statement made by the CPSU Central Committee on the cultural revolution together with adverse comments by other communist parties under the heading "Chinese 'Cultural Revolution' Evokes World-wide Criticism of CPC".

Iraqi CP: The Communist "Voice of the Iraqi People", said on September 18:

"The granting of wide powers ... to Red Guard formations constitutes a dangerous precedence aimed at the destruction of the Chinese Communist Party organisations... The so-called cultural revolution will only help to widen the rift between the CCP and the world communist movement... Like all communists all over the world, the Iraqi communists denounce the actions of the Chinese leaders and hold them responsible for the terrible consequences of this dangerous policy".

Italian CP: On September 10, Tass reported briefly that a statement issued by the Directoire of the Italian CP on Vietnam, accused the Chinese leaders of dividing the communist movement and attacking the USSR when unity against imperialist aggression was more important than ever.

On September 6, "Oggi in Italia" carried the text of an article, from Rinascita, by Giorgio Napolitano, which stated that:

"...the error of the Chinese consists in hampering the united attitude of socialist countries towards Vietnam".

According to NCNA on September 15 at a rally in Rome on September 9, sponsored by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Circle, a resolution was passed expressing full support for the proletarian cultural revolution in China and pledging to give publicity to the:

"correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary stand of the Chinese Communists among the Italian workers and to expose the ties of the imperialists, capitalists and revisionists".

Mongolia: Tass, on September 10, broadcast the text of a report from Ulan Bator stating that the Red Guards:

"... continue to throng the central streets and thoroughfares in Peking greatly hampering normal traffic".

The report also described some of the more extreme acts of violence carried out by the Red Guards. One group, that arrived in Shenyang from Peking:

"began questioning a man and when he did not reply to their question about his social status, the Red Guards forced him to take poison and then beat him up. The man died. These youngsters also beat up a woman who died on the spot hitting her head on a stone."

Another group in Tienching:

"...beat up the deputy Mayor of the city and imprisoned the secretary of the city committee of the party for the affairs of cultural revolution, and the director of a technical institute. They killed two men and seriously injured two others".

New Zealand CP: NCNA of September 14 carried a report on a statement on the Red Guards, by V.G. Wilcox, General-Secretary of the New Zealand Communist Party, which compared Chinese youth to Soviet youth. Whereas China's youth were "filled with revolutionary fervour", the youth in the Soviet Union were being enjoined to "ape the ways of capitalism more and more". China's cultural revolution and its Red Guards:

"...are of tremendous historic importance for they are a guarantee that China's future will remain unshakably socialist".

Poland: The Polish press articles on events in China have been essentially factual but there is an implicit cynicism in their style and a finger of derision is pointed at the Chinese for the excesses of the Red Guards.

The Soviet Union: The Soviet press and radio have published several hard-hitting attacks on the Chinese activities but so far all have been taken from foreign publications and re-issued without comment. However the Tass News Agency and the Moscow home service, on August 25, did carry an account of the "strange goings-on in Peking" and on September 2, they stated that:

"The actions of the 'Red Guards' and of those who direct them are of a clearly defined anti-Soviet character".

Uruguayan CP: On September 9, Tass reported that the Uruguayan Communist organ, Popular had alleged that China's leaders were jeopardising the defence of Vietnam and "causing alarm among revolutionaries, anti-imperialists and decent men all over the world".

Yugoslavia: On August 27, the Yugoslav Telegraphic Agency (Tanyug) described the anti-Soviet demonstrations of the Red Guards and stated that:

"a more serious aspect of these demonstrations is certainly the fact that even the highest body in charge of China's foreign policy (i.e. the Chinese Foreign Ministry) finds an explanation for and thereby justification of these actions of the 'Guards'."

The Belgrade home service on August 30, alleged that the Chinese leaders:

"... are pushing China into an extremely absurd isolation in relation to the whole world which follows further developments with justifiable trepidation".

On September 2, Tanyug reported that an article in Rad, the organ of the Yugoslav trade unions, had condemned China's:

"... tendency of new forms of struggle against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries..."

which is revealed by "the activity of the Red Guards, and hysterical outbursts".

Radio Independent Spain: The pro-communist "Radio Independent Spain" on August 30, said, in commenting on the Red Guards' activities, that these events

"...show a trend which we do not hesitate in calling wrong and harmful to the interests of revolutionary China itself, and to the world communist movement".

On September 5 "Radio Independent Spain" added:

"Let no-one try to describe to us what is happening in China as communism or socialism".

On September 13, "Radio Independent Spain" published a report from the Spanish Communist Party paper Mundo Obrero which condemned Chinese policies saying:

"The so-called Chinese proletarian cultural revolution is contrary to every concept handed down to us by the classics of Marxism..."

The disorders that have taken place in China in the name of the cultural revolution have been excesses inspired by nihilism and xenophobia which have nothing in common with the proletarian revolution or with the Marxist-Leninist attitude to culture... The cultural revolution has been a scandalous insult against the Soviet Union, a vile provocation, a shameful deed and blot on the otherwise glorious history of the Chinese revolutionary movement".

B. Non Communists

Non-communist observers have been dismayed, during the cultural revolution, at the incidents of excessive and blatant interference with the rights of the individual. Both the civil and religious rights guaranteed by the constitution of the Chinese People's Republic have been violated. The atmosphere of fear, confusion and apprehension, which prevails in China at present, has become evident abroad. Plainly the Chinese will in future find it difficult to convince Asia, Africa and Latin America of the benefits of communism.

Algeria: The Algerian paper El-Moudjahid, according to Moscow radio of August 30, published a long article which said that Peking's actions weaken the amity between the Soviet Union and all the anti-imperialist forces, and strengthen imperialism.

Austria: The Austrian press has fully covered events in China. The independent daily paper Neues Osterreich of August 31 carried a commentary stating that the logic of Mao Tse-tung in forming the Red Guard movement was irrational, proceeding from unreal premises.

The paper stated that the "Red Typhoon over China" will eventually fade away as will everything else the regime has to offer.

Belgium: The right-wing paper Le Rappel wrote "Deified in his lifetime, as was Stalin, Mao now rules by terror". The conservative Libre Belgique spoke of "paranoiac delirium" inspired by the regime's desire to conceal its failures and regain control of the Chinese masses. The right-wing Gazet Van Antwerpen remarked on the growing isolation of the leadership in Peking which, in addition to grave internal economic difficulties, now faced confrontation on two fronts: Moscow and Washington. The Liberal Nieuwe Gazet attributed the current events in China to the leadership's economic setbacks. The Socialist paper Volksgazet wrote that the so-called "cultural revolution" was in fact an outburst by the most primitive, retrograde elements of the party against the nation's intellectuals - alike in some ways to the nazis' "Kulturkampf".

Ceylon: The Ceylon Daily News on August 28 and 29 and September 7 printed editorials criticising the Red Guards and the cultural revolution. On September 7, the editorial stated:

"...today in Red China gruesome atrocities are being committed throughout the land by State sponsored bands of young brigands acting in the name of doctrinaire revolution".

Also on September 7, the Colombo paper Sun stated:

"Recent events in China give rise to the belief that all is not well within the Celestial Kingdom and the the 72-year-old dictator, with a rashness born of desperation, is swimming into a sea of troubles from which he may never emerge with his head above water."

Ghana: The Ghanaian Times of August 29 condemned the "vandalsim and barbarities of the Red Guards". The paper stated:

"The Red Guards have attacked and destroyed cultural institutions which were ancient or inspired by Western culture, they have attacked and desecrated churches and convents and mosques and have beaten up intellectuals who thought differently from Mao Tse-tung... This is what they call the 'great proletarian cultural revolution' in People's China. We call it barbarism and it is alien to our country... The one great lesson to learn from what is happening in People's China is to resolve not to entertain communism in any form or guise in this country, Nkrumah gave us a taste of it, a very mild taste, and we didn't like it. Now, thanks to the Red Guards in China, we know what a full dish is like".

India: On August 26, New Delhi radio said:

"Mao's so-called great cultural revolution seems to be running out of hand"

and alleged that:

"The Chinese sensibilities which at one time could perceive the delicate future and moods of nature and its aspects of seasonal variation will henceforth under the new cultural wave become arid and barren. No tyranny is worse than tyranny of the mind".

On August 29, New Delhi radio stated:

"Now the so-called proletarian cultural revolution is ending up in chaos".

On September 4, New Delhi radio reported that the Indian Defence Minister; Chavan, had described current events in China as having dangerous potentialities. At a function in Ahmedabad that day, Chavan said that China was poisoning itself for military adventure.

Indonesia: On August 24, Antara reported that the actions, launched against Protestant and Catholic churches in Peking by the Red Guards, had been severely criticised by the Chairman of the Indonesian Parliamentary Commission on General Affairs and leader of the Protestant-Catholic Group, R.H. Sutarto Hadisudibio.

On August 30 Jakarta radio announced that the Central Praesidium of the Indonesian Republican Catholic Students' Association had strongly condemned the terror launched by Red Guards in China.

On August 31, Jakarta radio broadcast comment from the Indonesian daily Pelopop Baru which said that the disorders launched by the Red Guards were a true manifestation of the imperialist ambitions of Mao Tse-tung and his comrades.

On September 5, Antara radio reported that the University Students' Action Front had condemned the Chinese Red Guards' activities as "barbarous" and "acts of terror against universal values".

According to Jakarta radio of September 5, the Indonesian paper Revolusioner observed that Red Guards were gangs of wild children paid by Peking, and specially created to preserve the cult of the individual.

Iran: The nationalist "Radio Iran Courier" on August 29 broadcast a talk entitled "Where are you taking China" which said:

"China is in a feverish state these days ... amazing things are happening under the label of 'cultural revolution'. These things are at times ludicrous, in the majority of cases regrettable and on the whole distressing."

The talk also said that "what is going on in China today is contrary to Marxism".

Iraq: The Arabic paper Al-Arab on September 4 said that China is losing its supporters in the communist world and in other non-communist Asian states because of its policy of violence of objection to peaceful co-existence. The Arabic paper Sawt Al-Arab on September 4 said in an article that China is suffering from a psychological complex as a result of isolation.

Japan: Radio Kyodo on August 27 reported that "Rampaging Red Guard Soldiers" had threatened Japanese correspondents.

The Tokyo Asahi Evening News of August 25 carried an editorial describing the "abnormal conditions in Communist China".

"It is abnormal because the situation makes us presume that the function of so-called 'democratic principles within the party' are not moving smoothly".

According to the Japan Times of August 30:

"The latest proceedings of the so-called Red Guards' in Communist China appear to be dictated by a burst of revolutionary fervour amounting almost to madness, and people of other nations are being led to ask: 'What is wrong with the Chinese people and their leaders?'".

Lebanon: On September 1, the Lebanese paper Iwassef attacked what it called the wild rampage by Chinese Red Guards against innocent individuals. The paper asked "Was this their widely publicised democracy, progressiveness and social justice?"

Morocco: According to Moscow radio of August 30, the paper Maroc Informations published news from Peking under the title "New Acts of Violence by the Red Guard Brigades" and "Bloody Incidents in the Streets of Peking".

Nationalist China: The Nationalist Chinese press heralds the events in China as a sign of growing discontent with the Communist regime and the activities of the Red Guards as presaging general unrest, which will result in the overthrow of Mao Tse-tung.

Nepal: The Government Paper Nepalese Perspective on September 3 printed an account of the Red Guards activities including the fact that they "closed the mosques and other religious institutions". The paper also said:

"What is disturbing is the statement that the recent happenings inside China are a preparation to the inevitable war between China and the USA - attributed to Marshal Chen Yi by the Japanese Trade delegation team who has just returned from China".

Nigeria: According to a talk broadcast on Lagos radio on September 7, the Chinese cultural revolution:

"is a product of desperation and is unlikely to bring any economic or political advantage to Red China ... the exercise may eventually prove worthless".

Pakistan: The Pakistan press has covered events in China using adverse AFP, APA and Reuters reports.

Phillipines: Addressing a joint session of the U.S. Congress in Washington on September 15, President Ferdinand Marcos of the Phillipines described China as the looming menace to world security and proposed a tight defensive line to contain it. The President acknowledged arguments that Chinese officials were violent in speeches but non-violent in their actions:

"In recent weeks, however, many of the statements of the Chinese communist leaders as well as some of the actions they have tolerated or encouraged appear to verge dangerously on the irrational. Prudence dictates that we should beware lest the fanaticism behind their words translates itself into fanatical action and lest their irrationality in domestic affairs merely foreshadow irrationality in foreign affairs."

Singapore: The Straits Times of September 7 reported that returned Overseas Chinese were among the main victims of "the Red Guard terror now sweeping the mainland". The Sunday Times of September 11 described the "outburst of political hooliganism" of the Red Guards:

"For the past two weeks, these rampaging young fanatics, with the support of Mao Tse-tung, have been terrorising the inhabitants of Peking, Shanghai, and other cities in a bid to re-organise the entire political, economic and social life of China".

The paper also criticised Mao, maintaining that he wants Chinese revolutionary communism, as opposed to the revisionist variety, to dominate the whole world.

Thailand: The right-wing Thai Chinese language paper Shih Chieh on August 29 described the chaos and anarchy caused by the Red Guards under the headline "Boxer rebellion scenes repeated ... Peking in a world of terror". On August 31, the pro-government paper Ching Hua carried an article headlined "Wild orgies of Red Guards youths on the [Chinese] mainland is turning into an anti-foreigner movement". On September 7, Shih Chieh carried an editorial on the Red Guard "outrages" and their sombre implications of imminent disaster for the Peking regime.

United Arab Republic: The Egyptian Gazette of September 1 carried a report stating that Miao Chen-pai, a Chinese who sought asylum in the US Embassy in Damascus, had said in New York that:

"the young Red Guards now on the rampage in Peking are instruments of the Communist Chinese leadership being used to purge the opposition. 'You can't see it (the opposition) on the surface, but it exists within the Chinese CP as well as among the people' he said".

The Vatican: Vatican radio on August 24 stated that the demonstrations by the Red Guards against the Catholic churches in China showed:

"... the complete anti-religious context of communism"

and added

"It is very sad to see that, even though communism professes to be radically atheist it usually resorts to a substitute of God by divinising this or that person in power and imposing them on to the people as prophets in whom they must believe or as idols that they must adore, serve and love".

Zambia: The Zambia News of September 4 carried an editorial on the Red Guards treatment of 16 Peking nuns:

"So 16 elderly nuns are a danger to the glorious thinking of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The hooligans he has unleashed on the streets scream that they want to fight what they call United States imperialism. They do it by making old women stand on the symbols of their religion. If imperialism means the domination of a country by a foreign Power, then the only true imperialists left today are the Chinese and the Russians. Ask the Tibetans. Ask the Lithuanians and the Vietnamese. If the New World is to be dominated by Mao Tse-tung and his insane godless Red Guards, we would prefer the Old World with all its faults. At least it has steadily improved the living standards of its workers. And it believes in freedom".

Non-Communist - Neutral

Burma: The government sponsored paper, The Guardian, on August 30, carried an editorial commenting on the Red Guard activities in China. The editorial reflected the Burmese Governments attempts to remain entirely neutral in the field of world politics. It stated that it was eminently suitable that young people everywhere should "spearhead the revolution against the old order" and that the excesses of the Red Guards were the result of youthful exuberance and enthusiasm, and were to be expected. The editorial then emphasised its impartiality by comparing the Red Guards' activities with the recent Indonesian students anti-communist demonstrations, stating that:

"People's China had occasion at one time to protest at some of the Indonesian students' acts of demonstration. In the same way the Soviet Union has now occasion to protest at some of the acts of demonstration staged by the Red Guards".

C. Pro-Chinese Communists

The Chinese communists are claiming "world-wide" support for their cultural revolution and the Red Guards. The People's Daily of September 7 stated: "All revolutionary peoples are elated and inspired. They hail enthusiastically with one voice: 'It's very fine'". However, analysis of the evidence the Chinese put forward to support their claim reveals that the cultural revolution is supported solely by a few blindly pro-Chinese groups and a handful of extremists who can hardly claim to represent their respective countries.

Albania: According to the People's Daily of September 7, the Secretary of the Secretariat of the Albanian Working Youth Union, Hamidi Sallahu, in Tirana on September 3, said:

"The Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao are undergoing further revolutionisation. All hope of the class enemy for capitalist restoration has been dashed to pieces".

On September 15, the Albanian Telegraph Agency (ATA) carried the text of a Zeri i Popullit article praising the cultural revolution of the Chinese people

"...guided by their glorious Communist Party, headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung".

So far the Albanians have failed to mention the Red Guards and have confined their comment to the cultural revolution in general.

Australian CP: According to NCNA of September 15, Vanguard, the organ of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) hailed the Chinese cultural revolution as a "tremendous blow against imperialism and modern revisionism".

Belgian CP: According to NCNA of September 10, the Brussels Federation of the pro-Chinese Belgian Communist Party, in a motion to the Peking Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, unanimously adopted at a meeting on September 5, said that the meeting had discussed all aspects of this event of historic importance. The motion emphasised:

"China's great proletarian cultural revolution writes a glorious page in the history of class struggle. It is a great blow to revisionism and to its attempts to restore capitalism in China".

According to the People's Daily of September 7, the People's Theatre of Brussels has passed a resolution hailing the Chinese cultural revolution, and saying: "The significance of the revolution is inestimable".

Congo (Brazzaville): According to the People's Daily of September 7 Andre Bilombo, Vice President of the Red Cross Society of the Congo (B), acclaimed the cultural revolution saying:

"Chairman Mao is the great leader of progressive mankind; Revolutionary Red Guards are the successors of the revolution".

La Voix du Peuple, the organ of the pro-Chinese Belgian CP, on September 16 carried an article in praise of the cultural revolution by Jacques Grippa.

Indian CP: According to The Times of India on August 29, the General-Secretary of the pro-Chinese Left Communist Party, P. Sundarayya, has applauded the actions of the Red Guards and paid glowing tributes to Mao Tse-tung's "greatest reinforcement of revolutionary spirit in the younger generations in China."

The People's Democracy, the organ of the pro-Chinese faction of the Indian CP, on September 11 published the full text of the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", together with a brief note explaining that this was to acquaint the readers with the official Chinese view of what is happening in China.

Japan: According to the People's Daily of September 7, activists from the Japan Socialist Party have hailed the cultural revolution as a victory for the thought of Mao Tse-tung. They said the great cultural revolution plays an important role in World revolution.

Mali: According to the People's Daily of September 7, the Sports Commissioner of Mali, Bengoro Coulibaly, said:

"Without a great proletarian cultural revolution a socialist country cannot be consolidated. The Chinese cultural revolution is sure to be crowned with victory".

North Vietnam: NCNA of August 31 stated that during the North Vietnamese National Day celebrations in China, the North Vietnamese Ambassador, Iran Tu Binh, spoke in praise of the cultural revolution. He said:

"...this revolution will sweep away the survivals of feudalism and capitalism and push China's socialist revolution to a new stage".

According to NCNA of September 2, Iran Tu Binh, at a reception at the DRV Embassy on September 2, was said to have praised the Chinese people's

"victories in the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation and in the current great proletarian revolution".

Tran Tu Binh did not mention the existence of the Red Guards, but confined his remarks to the cultural revolution in general.

African Nationalists: According to NCNA of September 10, African freedom fighters in Dar-es-Salaam have acclaimed the cultural revolution and the actions of the Red Guards.

David Sibeko, chief representative of the pro-Chinese Pan-African Congress (PAC) of Azania (South Africa) in Dar-es-Salaam, told NCNA that he warmly hailed the Chinese Red Guards on behalf of the fighting people of Azania.

Kandjou, acting representative of the South-West African National Union in Dar-es-Salaam praised the Red Guards as:

"shock brigades of revolution without parallel in the history of the progressive world".

Pavlov Assails Yunost, Novy Mir at Y.C.L. Session

ADDRESS BY COMRADE S. P. PAVLOV, FIRST SECRETARY OF THE Y.C.L. CENTRAL COMMITTEE, AT EIGHTH PLE-NARY SESSION OF THE Y.C.L. CENTRAL COMMITTEE. (Komsomolskaya pravda, Dec. 29, p. 3. Complete text:) Comrades! The rearing of the young generation is now at the center of attention of the Communist Party, the Leninist Young Communist League and all the ideological institutions in the country.

On the agenda of our plenary session is discussion of education in the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people.

Strictly speaking, education in these traditions is one means for resolving the main task: the rearing of people who are fighters, citizens and patriots. This is what led the bureau of the Y.C.L. Central Committee to submit this question for discussion at the plenary session. It also took into consideration other circumstances that confirmed the advisability and even the necessity of raising such a question today.

Among these circumstances was the exacerbation of the international situation, the intensification of imperialism's militarist trends and the expansion of outright aggression by imperialism.

The militarization of the U.S.A. has reached such a level, the well-known American writer F. Cook points out, that "America is becoming a military state, a garrison state." The military in the U.S.A. is acquiring more and more influence in all spheres of life.

The Pentagon finances many paramilitary associations of schoolchildren and students. Suffice it to say that American Boy Scout jamborees, to which 53,000 people have come from all states in the country, have been held at the base of one army unit alone.

The magazine Military Review states apropos of this: "We must not permit communist ideas to paralyze us or make us passive. To avoid this danger we need vivid imagination, proper indoctrination of personnel and constant attention to the psychological aspect of combat.***"

How is this "vivid" imagination being created?

By indoctrination in "resistance in captivity," for example. The main purpose is to prepare personnel to "escape from captivity" rather than succumb to "the enemy's psychological tricks" and to instill hatred for the socialist countries.

The newspaper Army Times reported that during large-scale American troop training exercises the soldiers "captured" by the "Reds" were taken under guard to a "prisoner-of-war camp," which had been specially built for the duration of the exercises and was surrounded by a double barbed-wire fence, with machine guns and powerful spotlights mounted on high sentry towers.

All the propaganda materials of the U.S. and British armies constantly stress that annihilation of the enemy (any individual, group of individuals or even a state may come under this heading) is entirely justified and logical, even a purely technical matter, which ought not to cause any psychological aftereffects. "Killing in wartime is a purely technical matter. *** The human mind during war adapts easily to war conditions, or, to put it another way, it produces the comfortable formula that an enemy need not be regarded as a human being but merely as a target," the Journal of the Royal United Service Institution says.

Add to all of this the immense mass of war books, films, radio and television—all of this threatening and calling for hatred and murder.

We cannot even imagine the volume and nature of all this output that is raining down upon young people in the West. That it is not just propaganda, not just experimentation, the whole world sees in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Angola, the Congo.

A second circumstance on which attention was focused in deciding the plenary session's agenda was the greatly increased ideological sabotage on the part of imperialism.

It is a fact that bourgeois propaganda has chosen as its young

and the chief target of its activity and has intensified attacks on the Young Communist League. Its channels of infiltration have been considerably enlarged. Especially active use is made of radio, periodicals and tourism. In the U.S.A. alone there are more than 150 organizations and more than 200 university departments that engage in the "study" of the U.S.S.R., and more than 30 foreign radio stations broadcast a total of 100 hours a day in 22 languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Bourgeois ideology infiltrates to us through translated literature, foreign films, stage presentations and exhibitions. Our enemies pin no small hopes on ideological influencing of the 1,000,000 Soviet tourists who go abroad annually.

The means and methods of propaganda are, moreover, becoming increasingly subtle. In addition to the crude attacks on our system, slander and misinformation are ever more frequently camouflaged as seeming objectivity and fairness concerning the Soviet Union, are given a veneer of innocent entertainment. Here, for instance, is a description of the activity of the Voice of America radio station as cited by the American magazine New Republic: "Its motto is 'softly but relentlessly.' Abusive language has been renounced. Deliberate efforts are being made to cultivate and satisfy an interest in the United States."

Imperialism and reaction are joining forces in this ideological warfare against us. In recent years such centers have been organized as the NATO Political Committee on Problems of Youth, and the European Federation of Youth Organizations, which is headed by archreactionary organizations of West Germany. Special institutes and research services for the study of the youth and student movement in the socialist countries and for finding ways of organizing subversive activities among young people in socialist states have been set up in a whole series of countries. These services publish mass editions of the magazine Youth and Freedom and the Bulletin of the Independent Research Service of the U.S.A., and huge sums of money from the Ford and Carnegie Foundations and other monopolies are spent.

Bourgeois propagandists are trying to capitalize on our young people's positive qualities, such as the passion for a knowledge of the new, the attraction toward bold changes, the desire to make broad use of the achievements of modern science and technology, and the creative urge.

It is typical that recently two trends in bourgeois propaganda have become perfectly clear: The first is to counterpose the Y.C.L. to young people generally; the second is to counterpose the Y.C.L. to the Party, the younger generation to the older.

In so doing, our enemies are endeavoring to make use of shortcomings in our upbringing work, to rely on the negative phenomena that exist among our young people.

What are the reasons for these phenomena? Apparently one reason is that at some stage we have become lax in upbringing work among the youth. Some of our Y.C.L. organizations have indeed begun to talk more about percentages, tons, head of livestock and reinforced concrete, and been too little concerned about human beings, about the thinking current among one or another segment of our young people and about relationships among young people.

The reports and the discussion of them have shown that we have definite experience in inculcating traditions, and the task is not to begin this work, so to speak, from scratch, but to improve it and intensify it in every possible way, to make the work of rearing youth in revolutionary, combat and labor traditions an integral part of the activity of all the Y.C.L. organizations.

It is no accident that the achievement records of two of these organizations have been singled out for consideration at the plenary session.

There is no need to reiterate everything that has been done by the Y.C.L. organizations of Belorussia. I would like merely to emphasize such an important feature of the work of the Belorussian Y.C.L. Central Committee as the ability to draw young people into upbringing work and to coordinate the work of many

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For a number of years, the agencies of public education, the Volunteer Society for Cooperation With the Armed Forces, the trade unions, the Union of Sports Societies and Organizations, etc. Together with these organizations, the Y.C.L. Central Committee annually holds reviews of the development of types of sports with military application, the work of public [volunteer-staffed] museums and clubs of revolutionary and combat glory, and the general-education and cultural-technical training of young people.

Military-patriotic upbringing permeates the entire educational process in the schools. The opening day of the school year, Sept. 1, begins in the majority of schools in the republic with a lesson on courage, i.e., a stirring, interesting account of the heroes of the country and of the republic. Quite often history, literature, or geography classes are held in museums or rooms of combat, revolutionary and labor glory.

Unfortunately, this experience has not become a practice, has not become state policy for all agencies of public education.

In speaking of the work of the Ivanovo Y.C.L. organization, I would like especially to stress two circumstances. First, it is quite right that the main attention throughout the organizational and political work is focused on the primary organizations, the Y.C.L. groups. The majority of them are militant, actively functioning units which have an influence on the life of the collectives and the accomplishment of important tasks.

The most important result of this work is the strengthening of labor discipline and a reduction in personnel turnover among young people. Absenteeism, tardiness and other breaches of labor discipline were halved at the major plants in 1965.

Second, the province Y.C.L. committee has thoroughly thought through the system of training Y.C.L. cadres and the aktiv at all levels. Y.C.L. aktiv schools have been set up everywhere. Specific recommendations for the operation of these schools have been elaborated so that every Y.C.L. leader may acquire the necessary economic and political knowledge.

But, while speaking of the positive experience of the Y.C.L. organizations in Belorussia and Ivanovo Province, we cannot overlook unused potentialities and the shortcomings.

Typical shortcomings of both these organizations are sporadic short-term campaigns and a lack of purposefulness and consistency in work.

In many organizations the work of bringing up young people in the revolutionary, combat and labor traditions of the Soviet people comes to life only in connection with important dates.

Here is one example. In commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the liberation of Belorussia, the Young Communists of Klichev District in Mogilev Province opened a museum of partisan glory in the village of Perebol, where the underground province Party committee had been situated. They made a big fuss over it. But after the anniversary was observed, the whole matter was dropped. Now the museum is deserted. Of the effects, weapons and other property that belonged to the partisans, only one certificate and a spoon are left in the museum. The only person left to concern himself with the whole work of the museum is a watchman. Y.C.L. workers remember the museum only on important holidays.

Unfortunately, such cases are not isolated ones.

During the preparations for the plenary session, officials of the Y.C.L. Central Committee visited Archangel, Smolensk, Odessa, Moscow, Novgorod and Pskov Provinces and the Uzbek and Turkmenian Republics to inspect the state of the monuments to the revolutionary fighters and war heroes.

Here is Volokolamsk District. Twenty-five years ago the 28 heroes of Panfilov's division accomplished their immortal feat on Hill 251, near Dubosekovo. But there is still no monument on the battlefield. The obelisk that stands on the grave of Panfilov's men is in need of repair and the foundation under the monument has cracked and goes on settling.

Inside the fence of the monument at the common grave of those who died for Soviet power in Markhamat District (Russkoye Selo, Uzbek Republic) is a dump heap of bottles, tin cans and pails. The inscriptions have been obliterated and the fence damaged. The monument is in the center of the settlement.

quarreling over which is in charge of the monument.

It is hard to find words that would fully describe such an attitude to what should be most sacred to man.

There must be a radical change of attitude toward this. The care of monuments, common graves and memorial museums ought to become, if you will, as much an integral part of all our work as admission to the Y.C.L., the holding of meetings and the paying of dues. It must be made an outright statutory duty.

The Y.C.L. committees must put all the monuments and memorial museums in proper condition. The Y.C.L. Central Committee has adopted a decision to build museums to Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, Liza Chaikina and other Young Communist heroes and heroines.

Comrades! Patriotism and the esthetic upbringing of young people are inseparable. It would seem that there are reasons why some of our young people get carried away by modern bourgeois art. One reason is the shortcomings in the publicizing of our age-old culture, the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the national folk traditions in the arts, a knowledge of which instills a natural sense of national pride and Soviet patriotism.

The province and district Y.C.L. committees and the local and regional history museums in the Russian Republic, for example, are not active enough in popularizing knowledge about the history and culture of their own territory or city.

A majority of the cities in our homeland have a glorious, heroic history that goes back for many centuries and is recorded in amazing monuments of art. Interest in and love for these monuments are natural manifestations of the living feeling of patriotism. It is not accidental that V. I. Lenin said: "We must carefully protect all of the antiquities, not only as art monuments—that goes without saying—but also as memorials of the everyday existence and the life of ancient times. Excursions to them should be conducted and museums should be set up there."

We want to take counsel with the members of the Central Committee about an idea that arose recently. Why shouldn't we, the Y.C.L. Central Committee, and Sputnik [a Soviet agency for international youth camps and youth travel.—Trans.] set up a tourist center in, say, Rostov Veliky (Rostov-Yaroslavsky)? Not only will thousands of young men and women of our country surely come here, but also numerous foreign tourists. This center would stand the work of patriotic and esthetic upbringing in good stead, as well as bring additional funds into our budget.

Other world-renowned places—Suzdal, Veliky Ustyug, Staraya Ladoga, Uglich, Kizhi and the Solovetsky Monastery, in the Russian Republic; Putivl, Kanev, Kamenka and Uman, in the Ukraine; Mtskheta and Vardzia, in Georgia—might also subsequently become such centers for youth tourist travel. There are such places in every republic. We do have something to remember and be proud of!

It would be a big mistake to think that the very fact of living in the land of the Soviets, in the conditions of socialist reality, presupposes a communist world outlook in a young person. There is no doubt that devotion to the ideas of communism lives in the hearts of the overwhelming majority of Soviet young men and women. But by no means all of them have a clear and accurate conception of what communist ideology is, what it means to be a conscious, consistent Communist or how to acquire the qualities of a fighter for our revolutionary ideals.

It would also be a mistake to think that the growth of political awareness and ideological conviction in the young person is always directly proportionate to the growth of his general-educational and cultural level. Our task today is to train not merely a highly skilled, educated young worker, farmer or specialist but, first, to instill in each one of them the qualities of a Leninist-Communist.

Highly important events in the country's political life—the 20th, 21st and 22nd Party Congresses and the decisions of the recent plenary sessions of the C.P.S.U. Central Committee, which are aimed at restoring Leninist norms to Party life, expanding socialist democracy and overcoming subjectivism in the approach to economic and political problems—all this has created favorable conditions for the comprehensive development and molding of the human personality.

It is natural that these events promoted the growth of the

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creative activeness of young people and aroused in them the desire to understand more deeply what is taking place.

In these conditions the responsibility of all the ideological institutions for the upbringing of the younger generation is increasing as never before. That is why I wish to dwell in somewhat more detail on the role that belongs to literature and the arts as the most effective means, by virtue of their emotional possibilities, of influencing the minds and hearts of young people.

At the plenary session today we cannot but voice a number of basic observations regarding certain trends that exist in literature and the arts and that, in our opinion, hinder Soviet young people from objectively examining many phenomena of our reality and taking the correct ideological positions.

Following the example of *Novy mir*, many magazines have literally gushed forth from their pages a flood of so-called "camp" literature. We cannot fail to be alarmed that the place of genuine heroes, of people capable of energetic actions, struggle and exploits, has come to be taken by politically amorphous personalities who have shut themselves up in the shell of their individual experiences and flaunt their social and civic passiveness.

The magazine *Yunost* is especially zealous in producing such heroes, if one may call them that. It recently published "The Story of a Group of Friends," a novel by Anatoly Gladiilin.

Vodka, money, "chicks," finery—this is the limit of the spiritual interests of the novel's characters. Here, for instance, is the kind of letter one of Gladiilin's characters sends to his comrade:

"Old man! I see the Baron often. He's all fixed up! They pay well. The Bell has dropped the institute. Alla is buying up finery from speculators," etc.

And here's another letter:

"Hi, Kolka! We're already in Voronezh. We spent the night in the woods, we thought about you, we drank vodka and smoked Trezors. And at night, such jazz; if only you had heard it! We were in Penza, but there's nothing there, it's a crummy town. But we liked Tambov, mainly we liked the Tambov girls, that is, the girls. We probably won't see any more like them again; but, if you stop to think about it, they're no worse in Voronezh. Yes, Tambov is full of clothes: ten kinds of stretch socks. There were sports pants on sale, and we found some 'Elastik' stretch stockings for Lyubasha. (Oh, did we see such sweaters here today for 32 rubles, bulky knit, in super colors.) (And what wines here!)

"We have 25 rubles left. We're looking for a way out of that dilemma. Well, so long. Oh yes, write what you did for fun on Saturday. Tell everyone hello.

"Now we're going to meet her—you know who—and then we're heading for the Rossia bar."

As you see, it is hard to grasp the difference between these two letters. The difference is that the second letter was not written by a literary character but by a live person, a reader of *Yunost*.

This letter was sent to the Y.C.L. Central Committee by Boris Grigoryevich Vodichkin of the city of Kuibyshev. Boris Grigoryevich has a 17-year-old son for whom he subscribes to *Yunost*. Recently he accidentally came across his son's correspondence with friends. At first he could not understand where this stilyaga streak came from. He began to read the magazine regularly himself, after which he sent an angry letter to the Y.C.L. Central Committee, erroneously supposing that *Yunost* is a Y.C.L. magazine.

Recently the attacks on socialist realism have become more frequent, and ambiguous statements have appeared about truth in art,* to the effect that only the artist is able to evaluate a work of art, etc. Generally speaking, the "ideas" are not new. What is alarming is that these old "ideas"—patched up and touched up—are being "pushed," spread and justified more and more energetically by some people.

Recently *Yunost* published the rejoinder "Who Are the

Models for Your Ballet Characters?"** by the young satirist [name obscured] asserted that only talent can judge talent, that only an artist can evaluate a work of art. This position is wrong, harmful and alien to us! Essentially, Rozovsky puts literature and art above the people and raises his hand against the basically important Leninist principles of literature's kindship with the people.

Since when have vulgarization of our reality, wholesale denigration of our system's achievements, sour skepticism and cheap grumbling about the difficulties that exist come to be regarded as civic courage? If this is courage, what then is political stupidity?

We have not set ourselves the task of making an exhaustive analysis of the situation in literature and the arts; we want to call your attention to a number of tendencies that are impeding the work of communist upbringing of young people. Our position stems from the demands of Lenin and our party on socialist literature and art; this position of ours also stems from the old traditions of Y.C.L. work with the country's creative young people. It is the constant support of writers, composers, artists and film and theater workers who rest on firm Party positions and use the method of socialist realism in their work. If it is taken into consideration that the Y.C.L. has at its disposal 17 magazines, with a circulation of 5,000,000 copies per issue; 108 central and local newspapers, published in 24 languages and with a circulation of 10,000,000 copies per issue; television, radio and films; that the Y.C.L. Central Committee's Young Guard Publishing House alone puts out 37,000,000 copies of books annually, then it becomes evident what a powerful ideological weapon we possess.

How we use this weapon is a different matter. We do an inexcusably small amount of publicizing of the work of talented, ideologically staunch poets, while we circle endlessly around two or three names that have set our teeth on edge.

Today we must seriously rebuke the Y.C.L. press and the youth editors of radio and television for inexcusable timidity in evaluating individual works of literature and art and in molding public opinion about them. Sometimes young people, because of inexperience, lack of esthetic taste or inability to orient themselves correctly in the immense stream of literature, follow the lead of a false fashion, forgetting the wise Russian saying that all that glitters is not gold.

Guided by the clear-cut Party positions on literature and the arts, the Y.C.L. Central Committee, together with the Composers', Writers', Film Workers' and Journalists' Unions, has done and is doing definite work with the young creative intelligentsia.

This includes regular seminars, meetings between the Y.C.L. aktiv and young poets and artist, the organization of discussions, field assignments and art exhibits and, finally, the establishment of prizes of the Leninist Young Communist League for the best works of literature and art for Soviet young people.

There is no doubt that all this is good. But the results of our work will be tens, hundreds, of times better if the Y.C.L. Central Committees of the Union republics and the territory and province committees pay the utmost attention to the creative work and living conditions of young poets, prose writers, film workers, actors, etc.

A seminar of young writers recently held in Chita showed that works about the Y.C.L. are entirely lacking in the creative work of young writers. Of all the works discussed, not one was devoted to this topic. Evidently this is not accidental. The province and territory Y.C.L. committees often know nothing about the young writers—how they live, what they are working on or what their creative plans are.

We have begun to forget the good Y.C.L. tradition, in accordance with which the manuscripts of young poets and prose writers are discussed at open Y.C.L. meetings and the young poets and prose writers read their works at the bureaus of the province and territory Y.C.L. committees for the purpose of getting friendly observations and comradely advice. Moreover many Y.C.L. leaders are not even acquainted with the writers who live in their own areas and, as the saying goes, "don't read their books in any kind of weather."

*[See Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. XVII, No. 47, pp. 9-12.]

**Current Digest of the Soviet Press Vol. XVII, No. 41, pp. 18-19.

Comrades! Never before has one generation reaped such fruits of many years of revolutionary struggle as ours. And the most precious capital and "dowry" of Soviet young people is the economic might of our homeland, the revolutionary experience of preceding generations, the lives of the best representatives of which have become lodestars for millions of young men and women.

We are proud of our genealogical, our ideological closeness to those who laid the foundation of socialism, who in the hour of trials bore on their shoulders the unprecedented burden of wartime suffering, made great sacrifices and shared the glory of victory. The children, being in the closest contact with their "fathers," draw upon their experience, accumulated over dozens of years, and become imbued with their world outlook. The children worthily carry on the traditions of our fathers.

Comrades! The whole country is now preparing to greet the 23rd Party Congress in a worthy manner. Young Communists and young people are embarking on a labor vigil and are preparing their gifts for the Congress. The Y.C.L. committees must lead the labor enthusiasm of the young people and

develop a fiery ardor and fire.

The best evidence of fidelity to the traditions of our fathers and mothers, of our party, the best memorial to those who gave their lives for our happiness and for the cause of communism, will be selfless creative labor, the endeavor of each one to do better and more for the flourishing of our homeland.

The plenary session approached its conclusion. The participants unanimously adopted a resolution on the first item on the agenda.

P. Reshetov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Committee of Youth Organizations, took the floor. The plenary session unanimously adopted a resolution of solidarity with the embattled people of Vietnam.

The session proceeded to take up the question of convening the next, 15th Congress of the Y.C.L. It decided to convene the 15th Y.C.L. Congress May 17, 1966.

The session also took up organizational matters.

The seventh plenary session of the Y.C.L. Central Committee then concluded its work.

Excerpt from Soviet
Magazine

July-August 1966

A 10-Year Story

"From Spring to Spring" is a story by V. Roslyakov about a year in the life of a student at an institute of higher education. The year begins in the spring of 1956, shortly after Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The student is a member in good standing of the Komsomol, and presumably had been brought up through all the other youth organizations which supplemented the schools' effort to instill love for Stalin and Soviet patriotism.

The student rose at a Komsomol meeting to ask for an explanation of the illusion-shattering revelations just made by Khrushchev, and to demand an end to blind belief. But he received no response, and was left to wonder what the explanation was.

During that summer's vacation, while working at a collective farm, the student observed how the farm chairman and higher-ups collaborated in the falsification of figures. He wrote about his observations in a newspaper article. For his trouble, the local officials accused him of slandering Soviet reality, and he was tagged as a trouble-maker.

At subsequent Komsomol meetings the student became convinced that the cult of the personality led to bureaucratic soullessness and falsification and lies. He perceived, however, that Khrushchev blamed everything on Stalin, and he was far from convinced that there were no others who should have shared the blame. His thinking along this vein led him to demand that the CP cease to lead the Komsomol, contending that the Komsomol was capable of leading itself.

The student then formed a club of like-minded contemporaries who gathered to hold discussions. The reader is left free to draw his own conclusions about what was discussed and what was decided at these meetings in the spring of 1957. The story was published in the magazine MOSKVA in mid-1966.

7 November 1966

The Latin American Free Trade Association

The first steps toward economic integration in Latin America were taken by the states of Central America in 1958, when a Multilateral Treaty on Free Trade and Central American Economic Integration was signed. This subsequently developed into the Central American Common Market (CACM), which has since received considerable publicity -- commensurate with its remarkable success in fostering economic growth in its member states. In 1960, seven countries of South America decided to work toward the creation of a free trade area as a means of breaking out of a chain of restrictive barriers to trade and prosperity which had grown around them; their efforts resulted in the Treaty of Montevideo which created a new organization, the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA). Its goal is the creation of a broad, multinational market which would encourage investment in new industry, provide jobs for their rapidly expanding populations, and introduce the benefits of industrial specialization and mass production.

Why Economic Integration?

The need for economic integration was first formally proclaimed by the United Nations Commission for Latin America in 1949, although it had been the dream of a few far-sighted Latin Americans since the days of Simon Bolivar. However, the absolute necessity of it became increasingly evident after the middle of the 1950's, when per capita income began to fall as a consequence of the explosive population growth rate surpassing the economic growth rate. Also during that period, Latin America's export revenue began to drop alarmingly as a result of falling commodity prices. Another compelling reason was the creation of vast trading areas elsewhere in the world -- the Communist bloc, the European Economic Community, the European Free Trade Area -- which forced small, independent markets outside these agglomerations to unite into new economic blocs or face continuously weakening trading positions. The success of the European Economic Community undoubtedly also had a profound influence on the Latin statesmen. Although there are obvious, wide differences between Europe and Latin America, the concrete example of an integrating regional market showed that uniting independent economies was a practical possibility. The final and conclusive reason for embarking economic integration was that there was really no alternative: continuing the status quo ante could only have led to growing poverty, famine, and revolution.

The fundamental reason for the continent's having arrived at this state was a series of tariff barriers which had been erected around the separate countries of Latin America and which frequently reached 300%. These barriers had grown for several reasons: The countries of Latin America have traditionally had only limited relations among themselves, due partly to the geography of the continent -- divided by the Andes mountains and the vast undeveloped Amazon basin -- and due also to the heritage of the ancient Spanish colonial empire which had

been based on direct dealings between the separate colonies and Spain, with little inter-relation between the colonies. Added to this, foreign currency shortages had tended to foster the local manufacture of goods which couldn't be brought abroad. Tariff barriers also served to foster development of "prestige" industries: "every self-respecting country should have a steel industry, an automobile industry, etc." Another contributing factor was the oligarchical nature of most Latin American industry, which had no desire to face foreign competition and which had the political power to limit or prevent competition by imposing tariffs.

The result of these trade restrictions was high cost production with accompanying high prices paid by the consumers. In many cases a 300% tariff meant in practice that the poor consumer paid three times as much for a domestic product as he would have paid had it been freely imported from abroad. Comfortably protected from competition, the domestic manufacturer produced small quantities of high priced goods, unable to expand his market beyond the capacity of his country to purchase his very expensive goods. On the other hand, as foreign manufacturers were able to produce goods on a larger and larger scale, as the marketing areas expanded, they were able to produce at lower prices. Further, the gradual elimination of trade barriers in the major economic blocs permitted an ever greater specialization so that countries produced whatever goods they could produce most cheaply.

LAFTA

The solution which was proposed was to create a Latin American trading area by gradually reducing the tariffs imposed by the separate countries on goods coming from other countries within the area. In this way producers could sell their goods throughout the market area with no more restriction than had formerly been imposed within their own country. With a larger market the advantages of large scale production would permit lower unit costs. At the same time competition from other firms within the marketing area would oblige producers to keep prices as low as possible, thus passing the advantages of mass production along to the consumer. Since the change would be fairly radical in many cases, it was determined to lower the tariffs only gradually over a twelve year period, from 1960 to 1972. This would help to avoid serious dislocations not only to producers, but also to the various governments, many of which relied heavily on tariff revenues for state income.

The LAFTA treaty was ratified in 1961 by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, Colombia and Ecuador. In 1966 Venezuela also decided to join, and Bolivia is presently considering joining.

Since its inception LAFTA has made significant gains. Through a series of annual bargaining sessions, tariffs on more than 9,000

products have already been reduced or eliminated. Intra-LAFTA trade has increased about 120 percent, although such trade represents only about 12 percent (up from 7 percent in 1961) of the total international trade of the area. Even in the long term, it is probable that no more than 35 percent of the total trade of Latin America will take place within LAFTA's boundaries since the products of the different countries are competitive in many instances, rather than complementary.

The process of tariff reduction has proved to be difficult. So disparate are the tariff structures of the member nations that across-the-board reductions have been impossible, thus necessitating tedious multi-lateral negotiations on individual items. And the negotiations have steadily grown more difficult as the readily-eliminated tariffs have been taken care of and the discussions move on to tougher problems. Progress in 1965, after only minimal success in 1963 and 1964, was heartening. The most recent negotiating session convened in Montevideo on 24 October 1966. It is expected to last until 2 December and will be followed by a meeting of the foreign ministers of the LAFTA nations, who are supposed to ratify a new economic integration schedule and work out a general agreement on transportation, the pooling of human resources, and the use of arbitration in trade disputes.

Beyond LAFTA

Although LAFTA has made significant gains, Latin American leaders have indicated a growing realization that Latin America needs more than just a free trade area, and the goal which is now being discussed is a Latin American Common Market. This would go well beyond the free trading concept and might include such additional features as automatic tariff reductions, common external tariffs and coordinated domestic economic policies. Also being studied are various multinational development projects designed to contribute to true economic integration of the area. These projects would include such undertakings as the development of the major river basins for flood control, irrigation, and power, the building of major road links to open up isolated areas and to provide transportation between the various countries, and the improvement of the communications within the continent. The Latin American Common Market envisages the eventual union of LAFTA and the Central American Common Market.

These plans were the outgrowth of an appeal by President Eduardo Frei of Chile to four of Latin America's most distinguished economists in January 1965 for ideas to hasten economic development in the continent. The result was a report sent by the four economists to the presidents of all Latin American countries in April 1965 entitled "Proposals for the Creation of a Latin American Common Market." This document, a landmark in Latin American economic development, was subsequently endorsed by the Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress (CIAP) in a report prepared by that group in August 1965 for the presidents of the Alliance for Progress nations. Economic integration was given a further boost at a meeting of some 400 business leaders from Latin America and the United States in Mexico City in June 1966.

The meeting, sponsored by the Inter-American Council for Commerce and Production, adopted a resolution pledging the businessmen to work closely with their governments in furthering and hastening the work of LAFTA. In August 1966, high-level representatives of Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela met in Bogota, Colombia to discuss possible steps for greater economic cooperation. Among the cardinal points of "The Declaration of Bogota," as the conclusions of the meeting were titled, was an outline of steps to be taken to reinforce the structure of LAFTA and to move it toward eventual union with the CACM to form a Common Market for all Latin America. Equal stress was given to economic integration by President Johnson in a speech commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Alliance for Progress on 17 August 1966. Mentioning the forthcoming meeting of the presidents of the American republics, President Johnson stated that the first item on the agenda will be economic integration of Latin America.

Thus the path to further development has been clearly outlined by the economists and it has been endorsed by many of the top political leaders of Latin America. But in too many countries it still lacks any enthusiastic support from the legislators and the voters. Part of the problem undoubtedly is widespread ignorance of the gains which have already been made and of the prospects which lie ahead. Part of the problem also is that LAFTA has not fired the popular imagination: it is admittedly difficult to rouse widespread enthusiasm over the reduction of the tariff on some product. Considerable hope is being placed in several of the area development projects in this respect, since they are, by nature, more attention-getting. And part of the problem is that the Communists and their cohorts are doing their best to disrupt the LAFTA, even though their proposed alternative is the system which has already bankrupted Cuba.

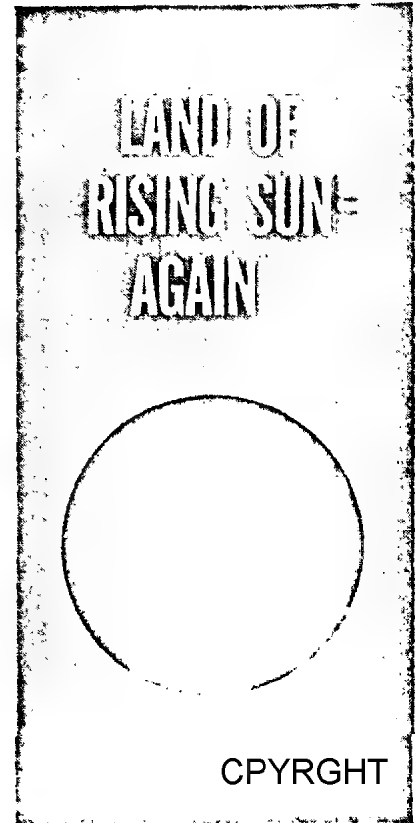
U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, March 28, 1966



JAPAN— THE HOPE IN ASIA?

Is the day drawing closer when Japan will play a bigger role in keeping the peace in the Far East, and check expansionist moves by Red China? Signs point that way. Japan, with U. S. help, has emerged as the industrial leader of Asia. Now officials believe Japan may be ready to wield more power in that part of the world.

CPYRGHT



It is to India—hoped now to be moving toward a more realistic course in its economy, defense and diplomacy—and to Japan that the U. S. is beginning to turn when exploring possibilities for establishing an Asian balance of forces. This would help reduce America's commitment in that part of the world.

Yet Japan until now, American officials find, could not be less concerned or even less interested.

Rather, until signs of some recent shifting of thought, Japan has regarded Red China as a thoroughly peaceful neighbor offering the Japanese great opportunity for trade and no threat.

Polls in Japan have been indicating that a heavy majority of the Japanese favored the Communists in Vietnam and strongly opposed the Americans, particularly the U. S. bombing of North Vietnam. There have been anti-American demonstrations and a violence of attitude that brought sharp criticism from the U. S. Ambassador to Tokyo.

Japan has made it clear that it wants no part of any military action in Asia. It has even been successful in preventing use of Okinawa as a base for U. S. B-52 bombers raiding jungle areas of South Vietnam.

Experience of the past suggests anti-American sentiment is growing but is not yet out in the open.

An island headache. Now troubles for the future are looming.

Okinawa is one that threatens. The big island of Okinawa—now a highly important base of U. S., vital to operations in the Asian area and to fulfillment of defense commitments—has been the center of controversy in the years just ahead.

Agitation is growing among Japanese for return to full sovereignty of Japan over this island. If that agitation succeeds

CPYRGHT

TOKYO

Japan today is Asia's most powerful industrial nation, potentially its greatest military power.

Yet this nation of 98 million, its people highly intelligent and hard working, its industry as modern as any, is sitting on the sidelines of Asia's troubles—unwilling to assume a role of leadership in this part of the world.

Instead, the U. S., thousands of miles from Asia, with responsibilities and burdens in Europe, in Latin America, in the Middle East, is being forced to bear a load in Asia that Japan could share.

American officials guardedly are beginning to express the hope that this situation is about to undergo a change.

They note first signs that the Japanese, grown rich, with large and growing investments in Australia and South Asia, increasingly dependent upon non-Communist Asia for markets and for many raw materials, are starting to think of their own country as a power in Asia.

Approved For Release 1999/08/24 : CIA-RDP78-03061A000400070001-1
Communist China soon to be armed with nuclear weapons and in a position to destroy Japan will stimulate Japan's interest in means of defense and counterbalancing forces

PEOPLE: 98 million—40 per cent more than in 1941, when Japan attacked U. S. at Pearl Harbor. Japan now is seventh-largest nation in population.

LAND: 143,000 square miles—about the size of Montana—in four main islands. This is about one fifth the size of the 1941 empire, which included Korea, Formosa, Okinawa, other islands, plus "independent" Manchukuo.

LABOR FORCE: Skilled, hard-working, disciplined. Engineers and scientists are among the world's best.

INDUSTRY: Japan is first in world in shipbuilding; second in truck production; third in steel; fourth in electric power.

TRADE: Japan's foreign trade is expanding faster than any other nation's. Exports in 1965 hit 8.4 billion dollars; imports 8.2 billion—about one third U. S. totals.

GOODS AND SERVICES: Output passed 75 billion dollars last year; exceeded only by U. S., Russia, Britain, West Ger-

many and France. Growth rate of Japanese economy has been highest in the world since 1955.

CITIES: Tokyo, with about 11 million people, is the world's most-populous metropolitan area. Other Japanese cities are big and expanding.

LIVING STANDARDS: A society with Western-style consumption, Japan has living standards far above any other in the Far East. Three of every 4 city families, 1 of every 2 farm families have electric washing machines. Only the U. S. has more TV sets per household. Some of the world's fastest trains, big and busy airports, the fifth-largest merchant marine are other symbols of Japan's rising wealth.

ARMED FORCES: Small, but can expand fast. Army has 171,000 men, fewer than 1,000 tanks and motorized guns. Navy has 33,000 men, 447 small ships. Air Force has 38,500 men, about 1,100 planes, including some modern U. S. jet fighters. Japan has no nuclear weapons or ballistic missiles.

A BIG QUESTION: When will Japan, once again a great power in the world, take on more responsibility for keeping peace in Asia?

and the U. S. is forced to remove its huge military installations, then Japan really will be on her own in Asia—with a nuclear-armed Red China.

If Japan is to press for return of Okinawa, then U. S. will be forced to reconsider its mutual-security agreements with the Japanese. Without Okinawa—its valuable harbor, American-built bases, supply dumps and training ground—the United States hardly would be able to give the same kind of guarantee of Japan's security it now gives.

It is the dawning of this thought that is altering to a degree Japanese sentiment both on the subject of its own defense and on its tendency to be strongly against many U. S. policies in Asia.

By 1969-70, when the Okinawa issue may be precipitated, Red China is expected to have both nuclear weapons and delivery missiles of a range capable of striking the heart of Japan.

The American view is that this, too, will begin to stimulate Japanese thought much more actively.

Cause for concern. It is this thought that has caused Japan's Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato, to warn the Japanese people:

"The policy of Communist China denies peaceful coexistence. It is a threat enough without being armed with nuclear weapons. Its threat to Japan's security is real now that it is a nuclear power."

Japan, as a result, is beginning to turn its thoughts a little more to defense, although not yet willing to show any interest in helping to maintain stability in the rest of Asia.

The build-up of Japanese defenses is indicated by the fact that plans the spending of a total of 8.4 billion dollars, which is more than 2½ times the defense spending in the current plan. Yet, even with this increase, Japan will be spending only

there is to be a start in laying the groundwork for eventual possession of nuclear arms.

Nuclear-capable Nike-Hercules missiles, as an example, will be added to Japan's antiaircraft defenses. Japanese now are being trained in the field of missiles, and four Air Force Nike-Ajax companies, now training in the U. S., are reported to have a strike average of 98.6 per cent. These are the men who will operate the first Nike-Hercules installations.

Americans say, though, that the Japanese, at this point, are not even talking about rockets or missiles that would reach beyond Japan.

Asked if Japan has the capability of producing nuclear weapons, an American officer answered:

"The answer obviously is 'yes.' I am constantly impressed by Japanese industry's ability to make things. They possess the talent and the plant to produce almost anything, including nuclear bombs. Up to this point they have not shown a desire to do so."

Today's Japanese Army consists of 13 divisions of 6,500 men each. In the new budget, 16,000 men will be added to eight of these divisions. Battalions firing Hawk ground-to-air missiles will increase to eight. A Swiss-designed L-90 radar-directed, twin-barreled antiaircraft gun and a Japanese-made medium tank will be adopted. Armored cars will be given to infantry units in larger cities.

Antisubmarine and missile-firing vessels will get priority in naval expansion along with antisubmarine aircraft. The 1,600-ton submarine *Asashio*—the Navy's seventh—was re-

ceived last year. The Navy's eighth will be 2,500 tons. In the air service, there will be a new fighter plane and a new jet trainer. Twenty-four radar sites linked with picket aircraft will round out an early-warning system of American

Japan Returns to Asia

By DICK WILSON

JAPAN is a success. She is the world's fifth richest power in terms of Gross National Product, estimated last year at US\$85,400 million (or neck-and-neck with Britain's). She is the world's seventh largest nation in terms of population. Her Constitution and political practice make her the world's third biggest democracy (after the U.S. and India) and the world's biggest constitutional monarchy.

She is the world's largest ship-builder and motorcycle manufacturer, the second largest TV set manufacturer and the third largest steelmaker. She has produced the world's biggest tanker, thinnest wristwatch and smallest portable television set. Her industrial inventions are now copied in Britain, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. She has provided the world film industry with two of its finest directors, Kurosawa and Ozu.

She belongs to the world's best clubs — from that of countries which have provided chairmen of the U.N. Security Council and Nobel Prize winners, to the OECD and that select group of banking powers which periodically bail Britain out of its sterling crises. She is a highly successful practitioner of the difficult art of modern capitalism, and is on excellent terms with the Western powers. She is all this, and Asian as well.

Obviously Japan ought to be offering a strong lead in Asia. As the pioneer in Asian modernization, she is the object of intense curiosity in other Asian countries. The changes which the Meiji era (1867 — 1912) made in Japanese society were described by Nehru, in his letters to his daughter (now the Prime Minister of India) as "remarkable and without parallel in history."

Many of the things which were done then in Japan are only now, with difficulty, being introduced in India and Pakistan, China and Southeast Asia—industrialization, banking, scientific education, administrative reform. And yet the Japanese still maintain in their foreign policy a "low posture," determined neither to take too decisive a lead nor become involved in unnecessary controversy.

Marks of defeat

The fact is that the Japanese have still not recovered their self-confidence, shattered by their massive defeat in 1945 (symbolized by the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs). They still feel somewhat isolated, lacking a first-hand knowledge of the world. Only this year have ordinary young Japanese, with all the humility, idealism and malleability of youth, begun to work in selected Afro-Asian countries as Overseas Co-operation Volunteers, in the Japanese version of the 'Peace Corps'.

Doubt and unfamiliarity are reinforced by the pacifism which General MacArthur wrote into the postwar Japanese Constitution. In spite of having 200,000 men under arms in the so-called Self-Defence Corps, Japan still abides formally by its famous Article 9, which prohibits her from maintaining an offensive army, and she thus renounces any foreign influence built upon military force.

These factors dictating Japan's 'low-posture' policy survived into the 1960's, because of the unfolding schizophrenia of Japan's world role. As an economically advanced nation with a fairly sophisticated system of representative government, Japan feels herself nearer to the West than to the developing

countries of Asia. But in a century of intense nationalism in Asia, she also feels herself culturally and racially to be closer to China, India and Indonesia than to the 'white' nations of Europe and North America.

Thus at the Bandung Conference 11 years ago, a nervous and inconspicuous Japanese delegation stood with the 'right' wing (led by Turkey and Ceylon's Kotelawala) rather than the 'left' wing of Chou En-lai, Nehru and Soekarno. Japan's awkward role in the Canal Users' Association during the Suez crisis offered another example of her dilemma.

More recently, at the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, where the developing countries of Asia looked to Japan for leadership in pressing the West to give up its virtual monopoly of the benefits of world trade, the Japanese found themselves embarrassingly caught between their pan-Asian emotions and the hard facts of their own economic self-interest (in this case, identical with that of the rich industrialized countries of the North Atlantic). South Africa provided another difficult problem: Japan dearly wanted to impress on Afro-Asian opinion her revulsion against colour prejudice; but as a nation dependent on foreign trade and doing business with South Africa to the tune of some \$300 million a year, she felt unable (like Britain, similarly placed) to support the sanctions campaign.

This general difficulty of Japan becomes particularly intense over the China question. Culturally, Japan feels a special relationship with China, and politically she still feels guilt because of her aggression against China in the 1930's.

Naturally the Japanese, apart from a vocal but minute minority, have no sympathy with communism as such, but they mostly feel that communism is one of the less enduring aspects of what is happening on the Chinese mainland today. As Professor R. P. Dore, the British expert, put it in a recent article, "The Japanese do not primarily define China as a communist country, but rather as a country which is going through just such a process of national regeneration, development, and search for a new identity as Japan went through in the nineteenth century."

Hence the Americans' failure to obtain a Japanese commitment to the Dullesian policy of isolating Communist China. The national schizophrenia on this issue is neatly illustrated in the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party itself, where one wing (led by Prime Minister Sato and the influential Finance Minister Fukuda) espouses containment of the Chinese communists, while another (led by Mr. Fujiyama, also in the Cabinet, and Mr. Matsumura) advocates recognition of Peking. Both sides agree on the promotion of Japan's trade with Peking — which this year may reach a record level of \$700 million.

The extra complication comes from Japan's special attachment to the island of Taiwan, her former colony. Japan did much to develop this island, and some of the cultural and commercial links have survived: only in 1964 did Japan's trade with Peking begin to exceed her trade with Taipei. Since Taiwan, of all China's provinces, now happens to be the sole stronghold of the Nationalists, this long-standing sentiment towards the island has involved Tokyo in rather more political support for Chiang Kai-shek than it might otherwise have shown.

Taiwanese dilemma

It follows that Japan has exercised no effective influence in re-

solving the Taiwan problem. The same could be said of the Vietnam question; and indeed the diplomacy of Japan in East Asia over the past five years can be fairly summarized as at best ineffectual.

"To count on another country for vital national defence," a recent Japanese magazine article declared, "is nothing but abject colonialism."

In this we are probably hearing the first shots in the battle to come, over renewal of the Security Treaty with the U.S. in 1970. Moderate opinion would probably agree to an extension, but the extreme left and the extreme right are both against it: the former would leave Japan militarily naked, the latter would replace the American umbrella by a purely Japanese military power.

Much depends on Japan's changing image of the U.S. There is a conviction, widespread in Japan since the escalation of the Vietnamese war, that the Americans really do not understand "the Asian mind". It is easy to fault this phrase as vague and meaningless, but it does have emotional significance for many Japanese, and it explains why Mr. Reischauer, former U.S. Ambassador to Japan, was recently touring the U.S. warning Americans that they risked winning the war in Vietnam at the expense of losing Japan's respect.

Finally, the continued rapidity of Japan's economic growth, and her export successes, mean that more funds will become available for foreign aid, that prime mover of diplomacy. The first sign of this was the Tokyo Conference of Southeast Asian Economic Ministers in April, where Mr. Sato staked a claim to preside over a new and rather better-co-ordinated phase of regional development.

Cost of progress

Tokyo is now accepted as the natural headquarters of any Aid-

Indonesia Consortium; the war reparations program has accustomed Southeast Asia to the idea of Japanese assistance; and the success of Mr. Sashichiro Matsui as Director of the Colombo Plan Bureau in the early 1960's familiarized other aid donors with Japan's potentiality as a key nation in the Asian aid business. Unfortunately there is less incentive for Japan to boost her trade with Asia, because her Asian partners almost all lack sufficient goods to sell in Japanese market.

But if Japan's impact on Asia over the next five years is likely to remain muted, and more economic than political still, the Asian interest in Japan will surely grow. More and more Asians will want to know, not merely the secrets of this dazzling success, but also its cost. Have traditional Confucian values been eroded by modernization along Western lines, as Rabindranath Tagore predicted? Is the Japan of *Nippon-Cola* and the *ereki* (electric guitar) a worse Japan than the old one? Is affluence achieved only at the cost of undignified dependence on Uncle Sam? I think not.

Yukio Mishima, the novelist, says that Japan is now in an "effeminate and elegant" period after the brutal masculinity of the military regime. "We change from one to the other," he adds, "with remarkable rapidity." I think we will now see a swing back towards the masculine pole — and towards a more decisive role in Asian diplomacy — but, unlike Mishima, I see the next swing as gradual, discreet and drawn-out.

But he is right to talk of both extremes as being essentially Japanese. The one thing Japan has not lost in the course of becoming modern is her soul. And that may be the most reassuring lesson that Japan offers to Asia. ■

JAPAN—THE HOPE IN ASIA?

[continued from preceding page]

CPYRGHT

their own starting from scratch, I estimate it would take three or four years to complete a big build-up. However, the word 'offensive' is not in the Japanese vocabulary at this time."

Right now controversy is starting in Japan over a proper defense status in the light of the belligerency of the Chinese Communists and the development of a Chinese capability with nuclear weapons.

One group of leaders has come to distrust the Chinese Communists and to question whether U. S. will always be willing to provide for Japan's defense. These leaders want to expand self-defense forces and to rebuild defense industries.

A second group fears that any large-scale defense build-up would revive world concern about rebirth of Japanese militarism and would be difficult to sell politically at home where the idea of pacifism is widespread.

Actually, the present debate is seen mainly as educational—the first step in preparing the Japanese for an eventual change in the role Japan must be expected to play in Asia.

Shielded trade. Western officials in Japan feel that the Japanese, until now, have operated on the theory that they safely could leave the expense of their defense to the U. S. while they followed a policy of aggressive trade promotion, industrial development, accompanied by passive diplomacy. In this way they could grow rich and fat.

Now that they are rich and fat and the Red Chinese are lean and very hungry, the feeling is that Japan is having to rethink its course for the future.

Americans in Japan also note this: The trauma of defeat in World War II is beginning to wear off. A new generation is growing up that knows nothing of the hardships and suffering during that war and the later years when Japan began rebuilding its shattered cities.

There is no question now about Japan's ability to assume a larger role in Asia.

Japan now is the world's fourth-greatest industrial power. It leads the world in shipbuilding, ranks third in steel output, has developed an electronics industry of high standing, provided its people with the best standard of living of any people in Asia. Japanese farmers are highly productive.

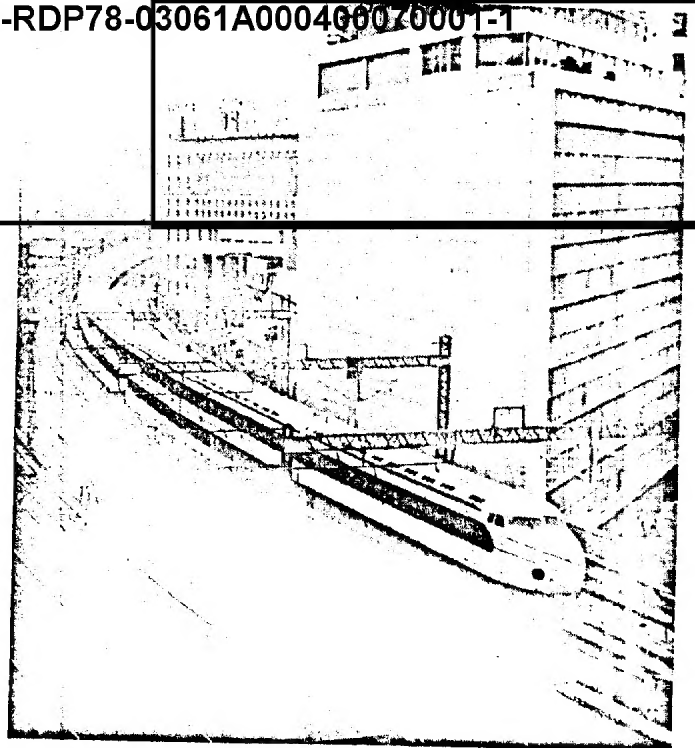
The scientists and engineers of Japan are ranked among the world's best. This country in 1967 is expected to become the fourth nation to orbit an artificial satellite. Japan's pool of atomic scientists is large and could quickly produce nuclear weapons if such a decision ever is made.

Japan, with few natural resources, must depend upon raw materials imported from abroad. And to pay for those raw materials Japan must export on a large scale.

Over the years since World War II, when the nation was flattened, Japan has staged a remarkable job of rebuilding, has by hard work and skill—plus 2 billion dollars in U. S. aid—more than earned its way in the world. It now has heavy investments in oil in the Middle East, in mines of India and Australia.

Victory of peace. Japan, while under U. S. protection, has in effect built a "coprosperity sphere" for itself in peacetime. This was the goal that it set out to achieve first by attacking China and then by invading Southeast Asia, a step that led to war with U. S. in 1941.

The U. S. view is that the Japanese sometime might want to become interested in defending their position in the world and in helping to underwrite stability in the Pacific. Japan must look for its big markets.

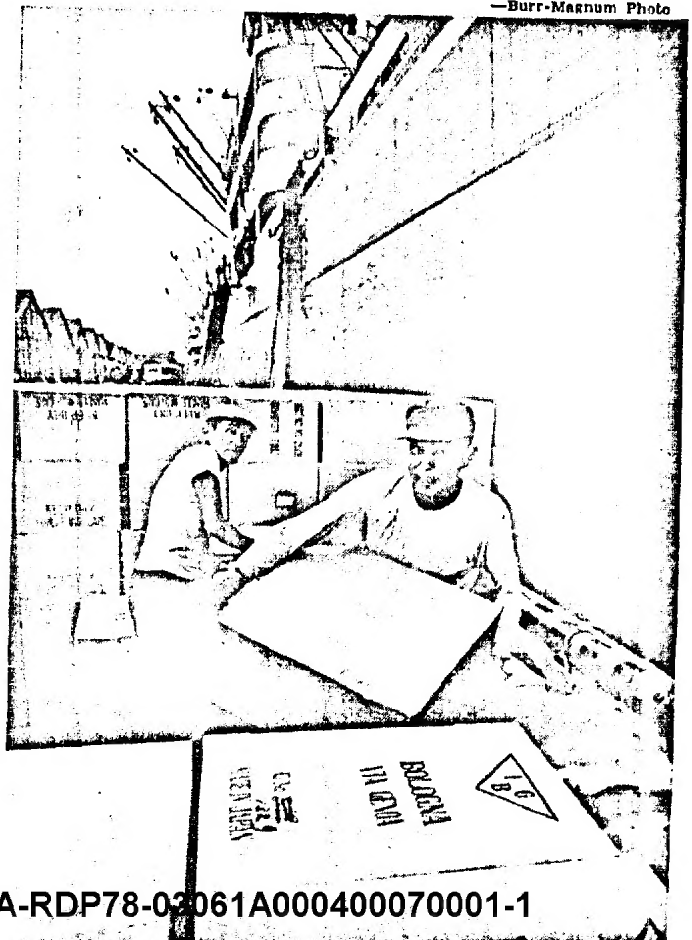


—Black Star Photo

A symbol of Japanese progress is this new high-speed express train passing modern buildings in downtown Tokyo.

With few natural resources, Japan must import raw materials from abroad and export on a large scale to pay for them.

—Burr-Magnum Photo



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NEW YORK TIMES

6 September 1966

JAPANESE DISCUSS TRANS-ASIA TRAIN

6,250-Mile Line Would Link
Saigon and Istanbul

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(Reuters)—The construction of a 6,250-mile railroad running through 10 countries from Saigon to Istanbul is being discussed by a group of Japanese political and business leaders. They believe the Asian trunk rail line linking Southeast Asia and Europe could be laid within 20 years at a total cost of about \$10-billion.

According to the group's spokesman, Yoshiteru Tamura, director of the Japanese Development Institute, Japanese engineers are confident it is technically possible to build the express railroad line on the pattern of the Tokaido line connecting Tokyo with Osaka in western Japan by means of super-express trains.

It is hoped the project will get financial support from all major industrial nations. The first survey team for the project may be sent on a Japanese Government subsidy to Southeast Asia next year to make on-the-spot investigations.

At the same time, the plan may be unofficially put before delegates at next year's general meeting of the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East to sound out foreign reaction.

Low Fare Seen

Under the present plan, the railroad would pass through Cambodia, Thailand, India, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Turkey, Mr. Tamura said.

On the basis of experience of the present Tokaido trunk line, the entire trip from Saigon to Istanbul by the Asian trunk line should cost a passenger only 66,000 yen (about \$184).

At the present average speed of the Japanese "Bullet Express," the journey across the Asian mainland would take about 60 hours, but Japan's National Railroads are trying to develop a faster train expected to develop a maximum speed of about 310 miles an hour, Mr. Tamura said.

If such a super-express were used, he added, it might be possible to travel from southeast Asia to Europe by train in less than 24 hours.

Mr. Tamura explained that the project was "born out of the shock we felt last year when we learned that Manila had been chosen as the site of the Asian Development Bank instead of Tokyo.

"The development taught us that we must have plans of our own in the matter of helping the developing nations. We reflected upon our policy of always relying upon projects worked out by someone else."

Advantages Listed

Another reason for advocating the project is that Japanese experts and engineers are "anxious to apply their skill to a big international program," he said, recalling that some Japanese railroad experts proposed the construction of a "Berlin-Tokyo Bullet Railway" during the 1930's.

According to Mr. Tamura, the Asian nations supply transport at much lower cost than highways or airlines and provide ideal tourist attractions, and help Westerners appreciate Asia and the Far East.

It would be better if the Asian trunk line could be started from Tokyo and made to run through Korea and China to southeast Asia, he said but under present political circumstances there was no alternative but to choose Saigon as the starting point.

Mr. Tamura stressed that it was up to the nations concerned to decide whether or not the Saigon-Istanbul line was worthwhile. Japan has no intention of imposing it on other countries or monopolizing the idea, he said.

N. Y. TIMES

14 September 1966

JAPAN IS PRESSING ASIAN-AFRICA AID

Bank Talks Reflect Decision
to Enter Field in Big Way

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Sept. 13 — Japan's determination to play a large and effective role in aiding the economic development of less advanced countries was the dominant theme today at the opening of a three-day regional conference of the national development banks of Asian nations.

The banking conference was one among several significant current evidences of Japan's decision to enter the international assistance field in a big way. The Tokyo Government's stated interest is the promotion of peace and stability, which in turn breed conditions for the trade that is Japan's life.

Thus, while banking officials from 15 countries and a number of international organizations were meeting in the 17-story Hotel New Otani today, functionaries in three ministries of the Tokyo Government were simultaneously engaged with expanded programs of aid to struggling nations on two continents.

Africa Is Also Involved

The heads of these ministries will visit 10 Southeast Asian countries this year. And one of them, Foreign Minister Etsusaburo Shima, told a conference of Japan's ambassadors to African states yesterday that the Tokyo Government planned a big increase in aid to that area.

"Economic development of the Asian nations does not depend upon aid from the United States and Europe alone," Finance Minister Takeo Fukuda told the delegates to the bank meeting.

"Today I am increasingly

aware of the responsibility of Japan as a member of the world community," he declared. "It is our desire to increase Japan's scope of aid to the developing nations in a substantial way in pace with the growth of our national income."

Japan's assistance program last year came to \$486-million, or 0.73 per cent of the country's net income, according to a statement by Kilchi Aichi, the chief secretary of Premier Eisaku Sato's Cabinet. It has been stated officially that the Government intends to increase the proportion to 1 per cent, the standard recommended by the United Nations.

Credit Lines Will Expand

The Government will extend expanded lines of credit to African countries that are running trade deficits with Japan. Foreign Minister Shima told the ambassadors to African states.

Japan recently extended a yen credit equivalent to 12-million (\$5.6-million) to Kenya. Earlier, Tokyo entered into a similar arrangement with Uganda and Tanzania.

Mr. Shima, after attending the opening of the United Nations General Assembly in New York next week, will inaugurate a program of Japanese ministerial visits to Southeast Asia with a trip to Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. Before that, he will visit Argentina and Brazil.

Takeo Miki, the Minister of International Trade and Industry and a prospective future Premier, will visit Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam. Raizo Matsuno, the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, is going to Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand and Burma.

Japan's participation in international economic diplomacy will be furthered by the inauguration meeting of the Asian Development Bank in Tokyo Nov. 24, followed early in December by a conference of Japan and Southeast Asian countries on agricultural problems.

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Japanese to Build Furnace
in Broken Hill, Australia—A Japanese consortium has won a

contract to build a blast furnace in Australia worth \$14,000,000. It will be built at Port Kembla, New South Wales, for Australia's sole steel producer, the Broken Hill Proprietary Ltd. The daily capacity of the blast furnace will be 2,200 tons of pig iron, doubling the capacity of the four blast furnaces now being used at Port Kembla, the Australian News and Information Bureau re-

ports